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The Kingdom of Priam

Lesbos and the Troad between Anatolia and the Aegean

Aneurin Ellis-Evans

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ANEURIN ELLIS-EVANS

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ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
André, *Pline*	J. André, *Pline. Histoire naturelle XIV, XV, XVI, XXV* (Paris 1958, 1960, 1962, 1974)
ATL, *ATL Gazetteer*	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 4 vols (Princeton 1939–53)
AvP VIII	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, 2 vols, Altertümer von Pergamon 8 (Berlin 1890–5)
Babelon, *Traité*	E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 9 vols (Paris 1901–32)
BE	*Bulletin épigraphique* (annually in *REG*)
Bellinger T	A. R. Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, Supplementary Monograph 2 (Princeton 1961) 14–78
BMC	*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (London 1873–)
BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby*
BNP	*Brill's New Pauly*
Bodenstedt Em	F. Bodenstedt, 'Katalog der Münzen von Mytilene', *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (Tübingen 1981) 182–309
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, 7 vols (Leiden 1977–89)
CH	*Coin Hoards* (1975–)
CID	*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, 4 vols (Paris 1977–2002)
CIG	A. Böckh et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols (Berlin 1828–77)
CP	Theophrastos, *De Causis Plantarum* 1–2 (Budé, ed. Amigues), 3–6 (Loeb, ed. Einarson and Link)
FD III	*Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1923–55)
FGrHist IV	S. Schorn (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker IV: Biography and Antiquarian Literature*
FGrHist V	H.-J. Gehrke (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker V: Die Geographen*

FHG	K. O. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4 vols (Paris 1878–85)
Franke	P. R. Franke, ‘Zur Münzprägung von Methymna’ in H.-G. Buchholz, *Methymna: archäologische Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte von Nordlesbos* (Mainz am Rhein 1975) 163–76
Guide de Délos^{4}	P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Athens 2005)
GVI	W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I, Grab-Epigramme* (Berlin 1980)
Head *HN*^{2}	B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, new and enl. edn (Oxford 1911)
Holleaux, *Études*	M. Holleaux, *Études d’épigraphie et d’histoire grecques*, 6 vols (Paris 1938–68)
HP	Theophrastos, *Historia Plantarum* (Budé, ed. Amigues)
I. Adramytteion	J. Stauber, *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*, 2 vols (Bonn 1996)
I. Alex. Troas	M. Ricl, *The Inscriptions of Alexandreia Troas* (Bonn 1997)
I. Assos	R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos* (Bonn 1976)
I. Bilingual	R. Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia: Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the End of* AD *III* (Bonn 2001)
I. Didyma	A. Rehm, *Didyma II: Die Inschriften* (Berlin 1958)
I. Eleusis	K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone*, 2 vols (Athens 2005–8)
I. Ephesos	H. Wankel et al. (eds), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 11 vols (Bonn 1979–84)
I. Erythrai und Klazomenai	H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 2 vols (Bonn 1972–3)
I. Ilion	P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn 1975)
I. Kalchedon	R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* (Bonn 1980)
I. Magnesia	O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900)
I. Milet I (2)	H. Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet* (Berlin 1908)
I. Milet I (3)	G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin 1914)
I. Oropos	V. Petrakos, *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού* (Athens 1997)

I. Perge	S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge*, 2 vols (Bonn 1999–2004)
I. Priene^2	W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Priene*, 2nd edn. 2 vols (Bonn 2014)
I. Smyrna	G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, 2 vols (Bonn 1982–90)
I. Thesp.	P. Roesch, *Les inscriptions de Thespies* (2007–9, <http://www.hisoma.mom.fr/production-scientifique/les-inscriptions-de-thespies>)
I. Thrac. Aeg.	L. Loukopoulou et al. (eds), *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου*: *μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου* (*Νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου*) (Athens 2005)
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish Research Foundation* (Oxford 2004)
ID	*Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols (Paris 1926–72)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGCH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C. M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973)
IGUR	L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*, 4 vols (Rome 1968–90)
IGIAC	G. Rougemont, *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale. Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. I: Inscriptions in Non-Iranian Languages, 1* (London 2012)
Kat. Amastris	C. Marek, 'Katalog der Inschriften von Amastris', in *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (Tübingen 1993) 157–87
Le Rider, Études	G. Le Rider, *Études d'histoire monétaire et financière du monde grec. Écrits 1958–1998*, 3 vols (Athens 1999).
LGGA	F. Montanari (ed.), *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* (Leiden 2015–)
LGPN	*Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*
LSJ	*A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th edn (Oxford 1993)
LSJ Suppl.	*A Greek–English Lexicon. Revised Supplement* (Oxford 1996)
Masson, *OGS*	O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, 3 vols (Paris 1990–2000)

MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 2 vols (New York 1951–60)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1903–5)
OR	R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC* (Oxford 2017)
P. Amh. II	B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri: Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. Part 2: Classical Fragments and Documents of the Ptolemaic Roman and Byzantine Periods* (London 1900–1)
P. Cair. Zen.	*Zenon Papyri*, 5 vols (Cairo 1925–40)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
PIR^2	*Prosopographia imperii romani saec. I. II. III*, 2nd edn (Berlin 1933–)
PmbZ	R.-J. Lilie and F. Winkelmann (eds), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: Zweite Abteilung 867–1025*, 8 vols (Berlin 2009–13)
PLP	E. Trapp et al. (eds), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 12 vols (Vienna 1976–96)
Powell, *Lexicon*	E. J. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge 1938)
Price	M. J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue*, 2 vols (Zurich-London 1991)
RC	C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (London 1934)
RDGE	R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore 1969)
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC* (Oxford 2003)
Robert, *Hellenica*	L. Robert, *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, 13 vols (Limoges 1940–65)
Robert, *OMS*	L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques*, 7 vols (Amsterdam 1969–90)
RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*

SC	A. Houghton and C. C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue*, 2 vols (New York 2002)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
Seyrig, *Trésors*	H. Seyrig, *Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux* (Paris 1973)
SGDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 4 vols (Göttingen 1884–1915)
SNG	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*
StV III	H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums. Bd. 3: Die Verträge des griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.* (Munich 1969)
Syll.^{3}	W. Dittenberger et al., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. 4 vols (Leipzig 1915–24)
Συμπλ	S. I. Charitonidis, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου*: *Συμπλήρωμα* (Athens 1968)
TGrF	B. Snell et al. (eds), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols (Göttingen 1971–2004)
The Customs Law of Asia	M. Cottier, et al. (eds), *The Customs Law of Asia* (Oxford 2008) 26–85
TIB 10	J. Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis)*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 10 (Vienna 1998)
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
Tod, *GHI*	M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols (Oxford 1933–48)

Introduction

0.1 UNTHINKING A SPACE

Spaces come with baggage—ideas about what a space 'means', what a space and its resources are 'for', which spaces 'naturally' belong together. Writing regional history thus requires us to unthink what we think we know about a space in order to see how else it could be configured—what other meanings it could be imbued with, what other uses it could be put to, what other spaces it could be a part of or divided up into. One of the purposes of regional history is therefore to recover these lost ways of seeing the world—to understand how they came about, what factors (both human and geographical) maintained these conceptions of space, and how they eventually collapsed and were reconfigured into fresh understandings of space. Within the region that is the subject of this book, the separation of Lesbos from Anatolia following the population exchanges of 1922–3 provides the most dramatic example of such a shift, and as a result a particularly clear illustration of why we need to unthink familiar spaces in order to understand how they have worked in the past.

On the 1st of September 1907, Vasilios Goutos sent his friend Georgios Sakkaris a present of twenty quails that he had shot just that morning. Vasilios was an olive oil merchant from Mytilene on Lesbos, Georgios the headmaster of a school in Kydonies (Ayvalık), the major town on the Anatolian coast opposite. That same day, Michael Strongylis, a factory owner in Kydonies and a correspondent of the Brothers Goutos export firm in the town, sent Vasilios a present—this time, two hundred cockles which he had gathered from the seabed earlier that day.[1] The casual exchange of perishable

[1] Sifnaiou (2007) 249.

foods between friends and business associates on opposite coasts is as clear an illustration as one could ask for of the remarkably close relationship which once existed between Lesbos and Anatolia. However, within fifteen years all this was gone—a process beginning with the independence of Lesbos from the Ottoman Empire in 1912 and culminating in the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–22 and the population exchanges of 1922–3 permanently severed the relationship between island and mainland. A space encompassing Lesbos and coastal Anatolia that had once been impossible to conceive of as anything other than an indivisible whole had suddenly been divided into two separate and disconnected spaces, a pair of binary opposites—Greek, Christian, European Lesbos vs. Turkish, Muslim, Oriental Anatolia. Shallow as its historical roots are, this conception of how the relationship between the offshore islands and the coast of Anatolia opposite 'ought' to work has had a significant impact on how ancient historians have approached the history of this region in antiquity.[2]

Since 1922, this sense of the 'natural' separateness of the island from the mainland and of the region as a frontier rather than a hub has been maintained through a panoply of institutions—legal prohibitions, military force, social taboos, and political culture—all of which have served to make the separation in some respects feel inevitable, almost natural. Yet the possibility that the geographical logic of this region as a connected and coherent whole might reassert itself has remained ever present. For example, a recent relaxation of visa requirements has allowed the many Turkish tourists who holiday annually on the coast opposite to replace the European tourists whose visits to Lesbos dwindled in the wake of the economic crash of 2008 and plummeted still further following the refugee crisis of 2015–16. Indeed, the refugee crisis itself has demonstrated the ease with which the carefully constructed separation of Lesbos from Anatolia can be dismantled and the status of Lesbos and the other east Aegean islands as major hubs for movement in the eastern Mediterranean reinstated. Both these recent developments recall the very different spatial configuration that prevailed in this region in one form or another from the Bronze Age through to 1922.

[2] See, for example, Lewis (1977) 155–8 on the King's Peace of 387 BC as being just another episode 'in one of the longest-running problems in world history' whose most recent iterations have been the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the inter-communal conflict on Cyprus. Objections already in Debord (1999) 9–10.

As Evridiki Sifnaiou has detailed, before the collapse of Greco-Turkish relations in 1922, the economies of Lesbos and the Anatolian coast opposite were profoundly interdependent.[3] Indeed, this relationship with the mainland was thought to be so fundamental that in 1925 the Lesbian Chamber of Commerce published a report arguing that trade with the mainland would soon exceed pre-war levels and that new transhipment warehouses should therefore be built to accommodate the growth in trade with the Turkish Republic that was expected once the current political difficulties had been overcome.[4] With the benefit of hindsight this sounds impossibly optimistic. However, to be more sympathetic, what this really illustrates is how inconceivable the idea of a Lesbos disconnected from Anatolia was to people who had experienced a time when the two places constituted a single, densely interconnected space. As Sifnaiou emphasizes, part of what made a Lesbos disconnected from the mainland so unimaginable to contemporaries was that these economic relationships were not just restricted to the realm of business, but brought in their wake social and cultural interconnections that bound island and mainland together into a single society.[5] The letters in the Brothers Goutos archive illustrate this in microcosm, showing us a pair of personal relationships where the economic, the social, and the cultural are inextricably enmeshed with one another. As one old man, who was from Eresos in western Lesbos and had been born in 1906, put it in an oral history about the population exchanges, 'Our island suckled on Asia Minor'.[6]

Regrettably, no source from antiquity, never mind the period covered in this book (seventh century BC–first century AD), is quite as rich and revealing as what is available in abundance to modern historians of this region. However, in deciding which questions to ask of the frequently rather intractable ancient evidence, it is often helpful to look at more recent and better attested periods to formulate our hypotheses. For example, the impact of 1922 on the relationship between island and mainland illustrates how the spatial organization of a region can change dramatically, how human factors can either promote or suppress

[3] See Sifnaiou (2007) and in much greater depth Sifnaiou (1996).

[4] Sifnaiou (2007) 250.

[5] Sifnaiou (2007) 249–50 and, more generally, the essays in Kitromilides and Michailaris (2007).

[6] From an interview conducted by Nikos Dais *c.*2002 as part of an unpublished oral history of the village of Eresos (email 10 October 2017). I am grateful to Nikos for sharing this and many other insights into the island's recent history with me.

connectivity, and how connectivity itself is far from being an immutable geographical 'fact'. This is an important consideration, for example, when looking at regional organizations such as the koinon of Athena Ilias in Chapter 1 or the Lesbian koinon in Chapter 5 which are all too easily assumed to be the inevitable consequence of the existence of 'natural' regions such as the Troad or Lesbos. Likewise, the regime of high connectivity that we see in this region before 1922 suggests that the scattered evidence we have for the ease and frequency of maritime connections between island and mainland in antiquity are typical rather than exceptional. In turn, the fact that in the modern period these economic relationships quickly developed into social and cultural connections, and the way in which these were maintained as much by private individuals as by states, is a reminder of two things. Firstly, it shows the importance of these economic relationships to the social and cultural history of a region (a theme that runs through all the chapters of this book). Secondly, it highlights the state-centric bias of much of our ancient evidence, which allows us to say a great deal about the perspective of Mytilene *qua* state, but comparatively little about the perspectives of individual Mytilenaians. This is a problem particularly encountered in Chapters 4–6 in the context of Lesbos and which Chapter 2 attempts to overcome in the case of Mt Ida where we happen to have the evidence to recover non-state perspectives.

While there is no one term for the interrelated set of spaces that I study in this book, the closest approximation is to be found in the final book of the *Iliad*. The Trojan king Priam has slipped unnoticed into the Greek camp with the help of the god Hermes so that he can supplicate the hero Achilles and ask him to release the body of his son, Hektor. Confronted with the pitiable sight of this mourning father, Achilles relents in his anger towards Hektor for having killed Patroklos and the two men share in one another's sorrow for the friends and family each has lost in the Trojan War. As Achilles considers the troubles that have come upon Priam and his own part in these, he reflects upon the Trojan king's reversal of fortune:

καὶ σέ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι·
ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἕδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων,
τῶν σε, γέρον, πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἱάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι.

And of you, old man, we hear that in former times you were happy, how of all the area that Lesbos, seat of Makar, bounds, and Phrygia in the uplands, and the boundless Hellespont—in these lands they say that you, old man, were pre-eminent in wealth and in sons.[7]

Since antiquity, commentators have recognized that Achilles is here describing the geographical extent of Priam's kingdom. However, although the kingdom of Priam which Achilles describes overlaps with or abuts multiple ancient regional designations (the Troad and Lesbos respectively) or parts of these (northern Aiolis, western Mysia), it cannot be adequately described by any one of them. While the modern geographic terms 'north-east Aegean' and 'north-west Anatolia' provide a much less cumbersome way to refer to this area, both encode the idea that this region is best understood as the periphery of somewhere else (the Aegean and therefore Greece; Anatolia and therefore the Near East). However, as we have seen, while this may conform to the current conception of Lesbos and Anatolia as two distinct spheres, it is a deeply misleading way of thinking about how this region has worked at almost any point in its history prior to 1922. Thus the title of this book—*The Kingdom of Priam: Lesbos and the Troad between Anatolia and the Aegean*—is an attempt to capture a way of thinking about this region which has come to seem alien: as a set of spaces which are quite naturally interrelated to one another, and as the centre of its own world.

0.2 MAKING A REGION

The foregoing discussion has implied the geographical extent of the region that I am interested in (the Troad, Lesbos—yes; Aiolis, Mysia—sometimes; Anatolia, the Aegean—in part) without committing to a precise territorial definition. This is a deliberate choice, but also one that needs to be defended. Over the last century, the trajectory of the debate about regions among geographers (particularly in anglophone scholarship) has been towards ever greater uncertainty about the possibility and usefulness of defining regions.[8] As George Kimble put it in his essay, 'The inadequacy of the regional concept': 'Our suspicion is that regional geographers may perhaps be trying to

[7] *Il.* 24.543–6.

[8] For overviews see Cloke, Philo, and Sadler (1991) 1–20 and Claval (1998) 9–47.

put boundaries that do not exist around areas that do not matter.'[9] A similar charge could thus be levelled against regional historians, and indeed under the influence of this debate among geographers some ancient historians have made precisely this argument.[10]

This scepticism is salutary but not necessarily warranted. For example, historians will not be impressed with the recurring claim made by critics of regionalism among geographers that, depending on the era of the scholar, industrialization or technological progress or globalization or the internet has done away with 'the region'. Apart from the fact that arguments of this sort have time and again been proved wrong on their own terms (e.g. with the concept of glocalization, which reaffirms the importance of the local and the regional, emerging out of globalization, which was meant to have retired these issues), this view also tacitly treats past societies, for which these modern considerations are largely irrelevant, as unworthy of study.[11] Likewise, given the discipline of geography's nomothetic impulse as a social science, the idea of regions as unique and unreplicable places is necessarily viewed with distrust. By contrast, this is hardly a problem for historians, who are invested in the explanation of the particular event, the specific circumstance, and thus, quite naturally, the unique region. Similarly, the richly descriptive style of regional geography championed by Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918), which was fundamental to Louis Robert's conception of the role historical geography should play in ancient history, has been criticized by anglophone geographers on the grounds that it produces little more than 'pleasant cultural essays', the implication being that this material is anecdote rather than data.[12] However, as the French geographer Paul Claval has remarked, when done well this approach produces what Clifford Geertz termed a 'thick description',

[9] Kimble (1951) 159.

[10] See e.g. Feyel (2006) 341–68, esp. 367–8.

[11] Globalization and glocalization in Greek history: Vlassopoulos (2013), esp. 19–32 and chs 6–7.

[12] 'Pleasant cultural essays': Ackerman (1945) 129. Robert was only occasionally explicit about the intellectual influences which shaped his approach to historical geography (e.g. *OMS* 4:397–403, 5:121). However, the importance of Vidal de la Blache is implicit everywhere in Robert's later work, which moved beyond conceiving of historical geography simply as a method of identifying ancient sites (e.g. Robert [1937], [1951], first half of [1962]) to questions of how the use, experience, and perception of landscape interacted with one another and left their mark on Greek and Roman culture (e.g. second half of Robert [1962], *OMS* 4:383–403, [1980], [1987]). For reservations about Robert's approach see J. Ma, *CQ* 59 (2009) 207.

an approach to ethnography that does not just observe and classify the behaviour that the researcher is interested in, but also tries to explain the broader context in which that behaviour occurs and to make the web of signification in which that behaviour is embedded explicit to an outsider.[13]

Most significantly, however, the assumption made by geographers who criticize the regional concept that regions should be static entities with stable and precise boundaries is seriously open to question. By contrast, in defining the Mediterranean Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have gone out of their way to avoid this kind of precision: 'To borrow an evocative term from mathematics, the Mediterranean is a "fuzzy set". A certain vagueness should be of the essence in the way that it is conceived.'[14] As they explain in relating this notion of the 'fuzzy set' to individual regions within the Mediterranean: 'They will be seen to have their foci and their margins; but these are always changing, can seldom be easily related to aspects of geography, and are at all times responsive to the pressures of a much larger setting.'[15] If the regional phenomena that make up a region are to be of any interest to an historian, then they need to represent dynamic historical processes. As a result, we should expect the spatial extent of these phenomena, and thus the region that they make up, to be in a constant state of flux. A precise and static definition of a region is therefore neither possible nor desirable.[16] We are thus better off

[13] Claval (1998) 24, Geertz (1973) 3–30.

[14] Horden and Purcell (2000) 45. For criticisms of this unwillingness to define the boundaries of regions precisely see Morris (2003) 33 and Harris (2005) 6 n. 15, 22 n. 62.

[15] Horden and Purcell (2000) 54. The notion of the 'fuzzy set' was first introduced by the mathematician Lotfi Zadeh in a paper from 1965. The first two paragraphs are worth quoting: 'More often than not, the classes of objects encountered in the real physical world do not have precisely defined criteria of membership. For example, the class of animals clearly includes dogs, horses, birds, etc. as its members, and clearly excludes such objects as rocks, fluids, plants, etc. However, such objects as starfish, bacteria, etc. have an ambiguous status with respect to the class of animals. The same kind of ambiguity arises in the case of a number such as 10 in relation to the "class" of all real numbers which are much greater than 1. Clearly, the "class of all real numbers which are much greater than 1", or "the class of beautiful women", or "the class of tall men", do not constitute classes or sets in the usual mathematical sense of these terms. Yet, the fact remains that such imprecisely defined "classes" play an important role in human thinking, particularly in the domains of pattern recognition, communication of information, and abstraction.'

[16] Compare Holmén (1995) 52–3, Vlassopoulos (2011) 27, Constantakopoulou (2017) 15–18.

thinking of regions not as territorial entities, but rather as networks of relationships that flourish, persist, and collapse according to the principles which we are familiar with from network theory.[17]

With this in mind, the chapters of this book do not attempt to give an exhaustive account of everything we know about this particular corner of the ancient world (the 'tell all you know' approach famously derided by Moses Finley), but rather focus on illustrating the factors that promoted regional integration and the politics that such processes of integration entailed.[18] Thus, Chapters 1–3 look at the human and geographical factors which facilitated regional integration in the Troad and the winners and losers which this process produced, while Chapters 4–6 look at the extent to which Lesbos was integrated into the mainland and the impact which these connections to the mainland had on the internal dynamic of the island.

0.3 THE EXPERIENCE OF REGIONALISM

This dynamic definition of a region suggests that the experience of regionalism is, at its most basic level, one of encountering other members of one's regional network with relatively greater frequency compared to members of other regional networks. While this is to be expected, the consequences of such encounters for the social, cultural, and political history of a region are far from being equally self-evident. As discussed in the introduction to Chapter 3, much contemporary political and economic theory assumes that greater economic integration of a region will foster a sense of solidarity among the inhabitants of that region, and that this greater willingness to cooperate will in turn lead to ever greater levels of political integration. This is, for example, the theory on which much EU policymaking is explicitly built, and in 2013, when I was completing the doctorate on which this book is based, it still seemed to be a relatively well-founded assumption. In the interim, however, developments such as the Brexit vote

[17] Malkin (2011), esp. ch. 1.

[18] Finley (1985) 61: 'The old problem of establishing canons of selection and of settling who determines them has been "solved" by abolishing selection altogether. Everything now goes in, as if in answer to the familiar question in children's examinations, "Tell all you know about X".'

in 2016 and, more generally, the increased popularity of nationalist parties in European politics have underlined the key point that processes of regional integration are as likely to foster resistance to integration and to fuel intra-regional rivalries as they are to encourage regional solidarity and yet further integration.[19] While we might not consider indulging in intra-regional rivalries and adopting a recalcitrant attitude to co-operation to be constructive forms of regional interaction, they are nevertheless just as characteristic of the experience of regionalism as forms of interaction that we might consider rather more beneficial for all involved.

From this perspective, the key political questions in regional history becomes the tension between integration and particularism, the compromises that are struck to resolve this tension, and the particular circumstances in which the attractions of integration are able to win out over the default position of political particularism. This tension is explored in particular depth in Chapters 1 and 5 which look at two regional associations—the koinon of Athena Ilias in the Troad and the koinon of the Lesbians—in order to establish the circumstances in which the member states of these two organizations were willing to accept a trade-off of political sovereignty for the benefits of co-operation (e.g. economic profit, collective defence, and so on). In addition, Chapters 1, 5, and 6 also explore how, depending on the circumstances, collective regional identities can function either as a source of intra-regional rivalries or alternatively as an argument for political solidarity. For example, festivals organized by regional associations such as the Panathenaia of Athena Ilias or the Lesbian

[19] The literature on EU regional integration is of course vast. For an introduction to the theoretical underpinnings of integration policy see Saurugger (2014). For overviews which reflect the broadly optimistic consensus on the prospects for EU regional integration immediately prior to the challenges which emerged following the financial crisis of 2007–8 see Caporaso (2000), Ginsberg (2010)—subtitle: *The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*—and Robert (2011). For a post-crisis re-evaluation see Majone (2014)—subtitle: *Has Integration Gone Too Far?*—in particular chapter 2 on the 'political culture of total optimism' within EU policy-making circles which led many to underestimate the difficulties of regional integration and the economic and political risks associated with the process. Particularly post-Brexit, the literature has become much more pessimistic about the prospects for regional integration, rather less willing to view globalization as an unproblematic solution to disparities in regional development, and has dialled back predictions of the nation state's imminent demise: see, for example, the essays in Grimmel (2018). For some preliminary thoughts on how contemporary EU politics might prompt ancient historians to re-think their approach to regional history see Constantakopoulou (2017) 17.

koinon's festival at Messon can seem crucial to creating a sense of regional solidarity—they express a collective identity, involve shared religious rites, and facilitate regional economic integration through the festival's major market, the panegyris. Yet at the same time they also provided the ideal venue for fostering and indulging in intra-regional rivalries, with member states contending to win the most competitions, to provide the most generous benefactors, and to achieve the most prominent position within these organizations.

Some of the reasons why states might resist regional integration are explored in Chapters 3 and 4, which consider the carving up of the middle Scamander valley by Ilion and Alexandreia Troas in the Hellenistic period (Chapter 3) and Mytilene's control of its mainland *peraia* in the fifth century (Chapter 4). In both cases, regional integration delivered greater profitability for some (Ilion, Alexandreia, and Mytilene) at the expense of autonomy and political representation for others (the cities of the middle Scamander valley, the communities in the *peraia*). As a result, in these cases regional integration would not necessarily have been viewed as a positive development by those who were subjected to it, and it is revealing that when opportunities for autonomy arose these communities seized them. This tension between centrifugal forces of integration and centripetal forces of particularism produced a pattern of expansion and contraction in the case of the territory and citizen body of Alexandreia Troas that Louis Robert poetically likened to the rhythm of respiration.[20] As he noted, these regional dynamics intersected with and were amplified by the high politics of Greek history, a theme that will be discussed in the final section of this introduction.[21] Finally, it is important to emphasize that this political fractiousness at the interstate level did not translate into or result from a poorly integrated regional economy. On the contrary, case studies such as the forests of Mt Ida (Chapter 2) and the discussions of coin circulation in this

[20] Robert (1951) 35: 'Ces grands territoires constitués par synécisme sont soumis, pendant l'époque hellénistique, comme à un mouvement de respiration, tantôt dilates—et, au moment de la foundation d'Antigoneia, de façon démesurée, avec l'absorption de Skepsis, qui porte le territoire de la nouvelle ville depuis la côte de Ténédos jusqu'à la Mysie—, tantôt comprimés.' See most recently Ellis-Evans (2017) 46–7.

[21] Robert (1951) 35–6: 'Les deux tendances à la concentration et à la désintégration avaient bien des occasions d'aboutir à un résultat, toujours précaire, dans les agitations politiques de l'époque: guerres entre cités, guerres des rois, des Romains; chaque victoire peut être l'occasion d'un gain ou d'une perte de territoire; la cité qui a misé sur le vaincu peut le payer de son existence au règlement des affaires, ainsi en 188, ou se voir arracher les voisines qu'elle avait assujetties.'

book (in particular Chapters 1.3 and 4.3.2) illustrate that strong economic relationships could exist within this region without necessarily developing into political co-operation.

0.4 THE VIEW FROM THE BOTTOM OF THE WELL

In an essay written towards the end of his life, Moses Finley launched an attack on regional history on the grounds that, at least as he felt it was being practised by his contemporaries, it represented a theory-less approach to the ancient world that was therefore not really history but rather antiquarianism.[22] His concern was that scholars were choosing to do regional history out of a misguided belief that collecting all the facts about a particular region is the same thing as understanding its history.[23] A related criticism is that the focus of regional history is often too narrow and its intellectual concerns too parochial. This results not just in regional history *only* being regional history (i.e. a book about Lesbos and the Troad *only* being of interest to people who want to know about those places), but also in regional history failing to take account of how ideas about the macroregional context of the Mediterranean should change how we think about the regional context of Lesbos and the Troad. As Cyprian Broodbank has put it: 'Archaeology *in* the Mediterranean too easily finds itself in the position of a person at the bottom of a well, who can see a small patch of sky with perfect clarity, but misses the scope and constellations of the heavens.'[24]

These criticisms of how regional history can be done badly are of course well made. However, they also raise the question of what contribution regional history can make to our broader picture of the ancient Mediterranean beyond adding data, documenting regional diversity, and introducing nuance and complexity into grand synthetic narratives. One such contribution is to our understanding of ancient imperialism. While empires in antiquity of course represented

[22] Finley (1985) 47–66, esp. 61–5.

[23] For examples of such statements then and now see e.g. Cook (1973) 1–2, Kelly (1976) vii–viii, Griffin (1982) 1, Berthold (1984) 13, Gorman (2001) 10, Greaves (2010) xii. For an explicit attempt to eschew this kind of positivism in writing regional history see Russell (2017) 1–17, esp. 1–2.

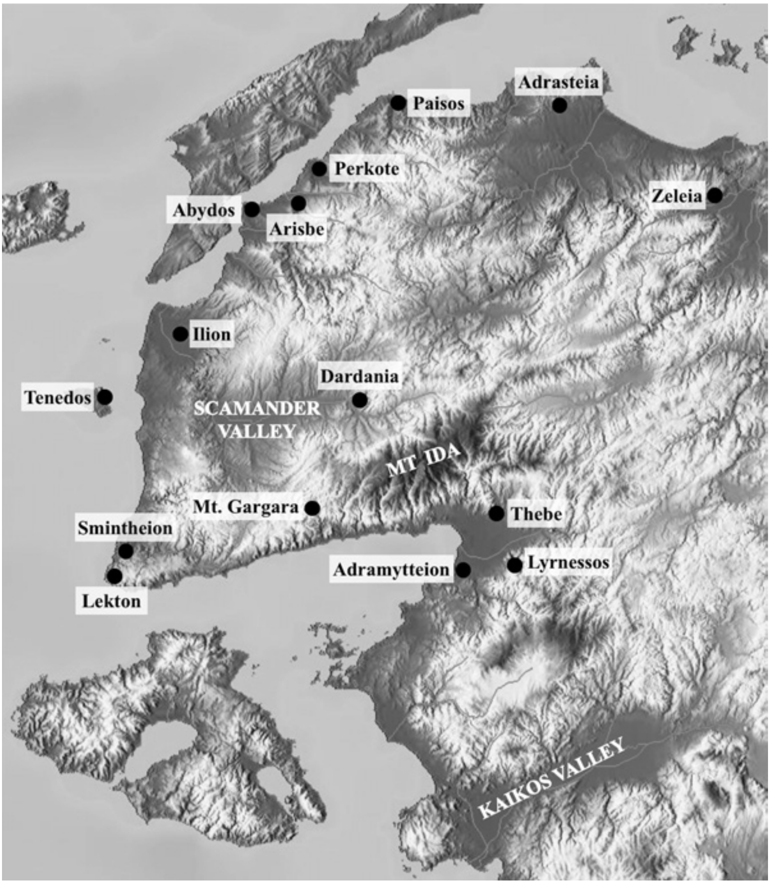
[24] Broodbank (2013) 23 (emphasis in the original).

themselves as directing events from the centre with unquestioned obedience, in reality the 'texture' of imperial rule varied greatly depending on local conditions and on the priorities of the local actors through whom empires ruled.[25] As a result, we see the internal problematics of a region—the view from the bottom of the well—interacting dialectically with the external problematics of empire, with each continuously shaping and re-shaping the other, thus giving ancient imperialism a distinctively regional character.[26]

Chapters 1 and 5, which focus on the koinon of Athena Ilias and the koinon of the Lesbians, examine how periods of general political uncertainty in the eastern Mediterranean, such as the contests between Alexander's successors 323–301, the chaos following the collapse of the Ptolemaic Empire in the Aegean *c.*205, and the period of the Mithridatic Wars, all had the effect of fundamentally altering regional dynamics by tipping the scales in favour of co-operation rather than rivalry. Chapters 3, 4, and 6 consider how imperial priorities interact with regional priorities and to what extent empires consciously manipulated regional dynamics or were instead manipulated by regional actors. Chapter 3 looks at the case of a royal horse stud in the middle Scamander valley that was set up at the request of the Persian Empire to provide it with cavalry, but was implemented in such a way by local elites so as to further entrench an unequal power dynamic between the central Troad and the rest of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. Chapter 4 examines the manner in which the Athenian Empire dismantled the Mytilenaian *peraia*, arguing that the decision to treat all these communities as independent poleis was designed to disrupt Mytilenaian control of the mainland by creating new local elites who would be invested in maintaining a politically fragmented landscape of small, autonomous cities. Finally, Chapter 6 looks at how Mytilene's sense of regional identity in the first century BC and AD evolved in response to both the internal problematics of the region, in this case regional rivalries with cities in Aiolis, and the external problematics of empire, above all how Rome chose to administer the province of Asia and how loyalty was shown towards the emperor and his family.

[25] See e.g. Ma (2002) 177 and for case studies from this region Ellis-Evans (2012) 189–201 on relations between Eresos and Alexander and the Successors and Ellis-Evans (2018) on Persian rule in the Troad.

[26] Thonemann (2011) xv–xvi, Vlassopoulos (2011) 13–14, 27–8.



Map 1.1. Strabo's Troad.

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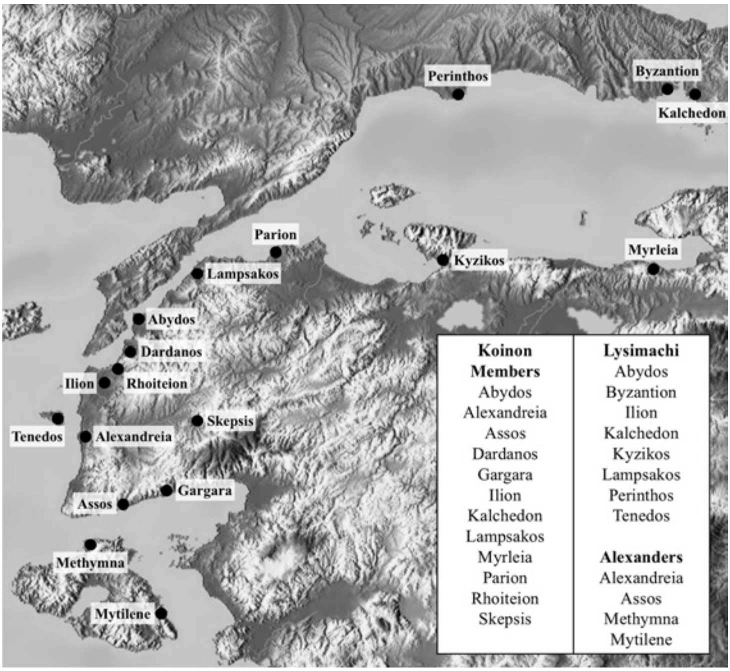
1

Ilion and its Contexts



Map 1.2. Members of the koinon of Athena Ilias and mints producing Lysimachi and Alexanders.

1.1 INTRODUCTION: THE REGIONAL PERSONALITY OF ILION

Paul Vidal de la Blache began his celebrated essay on the formation of France as a coherent geographical entity by posing the following question: 'We gladly repeat this remark of Michelet: "France is a person" . . . So, of what nature is this personality, and how should it be understood?'.[1] The idea that the identity of a geographical region might be like a human personality is richly suggestive. A personality is built up over time, it bears the marks and scars of past experiences, it is a product of its constituent elements (nature, nurture) and yet is not a prisoner to them, it contains a multitude of elements which clash with and contradict one another, it is formed by processes of which one is often barely conscious, it is a subject of endless theorizing and narrativizing by oneself and others, it wriggles out of typologies and resists definitive definition, it is dynamic, it evolves.

The protean quality of regions has encouraged some geographers and historians to question whether regions even exist beyond our capacity to imagine them and (mis)label certain spaces as being such. It is argued that if we cannot precisely define a region then we do not really know what it is, and that even when we *do* try and precisely define it we soon discover that a great deal of what we want to keep in has been left out. As I have argued in the introduction (section 0.2), the trouble here comes from trying to define a region as a static territorial entity with exact boundaries—a space which can be coloured in on the map. Instead, we should be thinking of regions as networks of interactions which are constantly in flux because they are contingent on dynamic historical processes. From this perspective, 'belonging' to a region becomes a question of the relative integration of a person or place into a particular network, while larger regions of study are defined as clusters of such networks whose participants interact with one another more often and in more varied ways than they interact with those who are not part of this region.

In this chapter I apply this approach to understanding the regional 'personality' of Hellenistic Ilion. Between the fourth and first century

[1] Vidal de la Blache (1903) 6: 'Nous répétons volontiers ce mot de Michelet: "La France est une personne" . . . De quelle nature est donc cette personnalité, et comment faut-il l'entendre?'. Vidal de la Blache is quoting Michelet (1861) 2:103: 'L'Angleterre est un empire, l'Allemagne un pays, une race; la France est une personne.'

BC Ilion enjoyed an extraordinary turnaround in its fortunes: in the fourth century it was a small town with few civic amenities, limited territory, and a sanctuary of only local importance, whereas by the first century it had become prosperous, its territory had expanded along the coast and deep into the Troad's interior, and its sanctuary was a major centre for the social and economic life of the wider region. Under the influence of a particular narrative of Ilion's Hellenistic history constructed by the Imperial-era geographer Strabo, modern narratives often attribute this shift in circumstances exclusively to external factors such as the generous benefactions of Hellenistic kings and Roman statesmen. While the significance of these benefactions certainly needs to be acknowledged, the shift in Ilion's fortunes also needs to be understood as being the result of Ilion successfully intensifying its role in the symbolic, economic, and social networks that brought the wider region together.

In order to illustrate this, I will explore the history of Hellenistic Ilion from three different perspectives. First, I will look at the narrative of Ilion's history embedded in Strabo's account of the Troad. This narrative is responsible for a number of misconceptions about the city's Hellenistic history and illustrates the symbolic network of Homeric associations to which Ilion belonged and which was crucial to its growing prominence and prosperity in this period. In order to illustrate the economic network to which Ilion belonged I will then look at the output of its mint in the Hellenistic period, and in particular the so-called posthumous Lysimachi which it produced in the second quarter of the second century. This reveals Ilion's orientation towards a set of trading networks which extended beyond the limits of the Troad and were centred on the Bosporos. Finally, I will consider Ilion's role as the symbolic centre of the koinon of Athena Ilias, an organization founded by the cities of the Troad in the last decade of the fourth century which organized the annual Panathenaia festival at Ilion. These three perspectives tell related but distinct stories which show that the regional personality of Ilion is not reducible to any one or even two of these perspectives. Moreover, while Ilion's particular experience of the Troad was of course unique to this city, it is no accident that, time and again, the same cities turn up as participants in the region's symbolic network of Homeric associations, the economic network of trade through the Dardanelles, and the social network created by the Panathenaia, and indeed that participation in one of these networks often had consequences for a city's participation in one or both of the others. This illustrates how networks representing individual regional phenomena cluster, and how in turn this clustering can help us define larger regions of study. In this way, we can talk about regional commonalities without losing sight of each participant's distinctive experience of that region.

1.2 STRABO'S TROAD

Our main source for the narrative history of Ilion in the Hellenistic period is a series of passages embedded in Strabo's geographical description of the Troad (13.1.1–70). What Strabo says here about Ilion has often been taken at face value. However, Strabo's authorial concerns, particularly as they relate to Homer, play a major part in how he presents Ilion's history and thus need to be unpacked before we can make sense of his account.

Strabo's *Geography* remains one of those works from antiquity which is still more often quoted for particular bits of information than read as a narrative with an argument. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century Strabo was primarily viewed as a source to be plundered for historical and geographical details, while the historical geographers who read him in depth assumed that his aims were much the same as their own: the objective and scientific description of the world.[2] However, in recent decades scholars have come to appreciate that Strabo's authorial persona and his aims in the *Geography* are a good deal more complex than this. As Katherine Clarke has shown, Strabo viewed geography and history as interconnected modes of enquiry, and so his geographical descriptions of regions often double as histories of those places.[3] Whereas an older generation of historical geographers tended to assume that Strabo was as narrowly focused on questions of topography as they themselves were, more recent scholarship has highlighted the centrality of ethnography, philosophy, and literature to his vision of what writing geography involved.[4] In particular, it has been emphasized that he viewed geographical writing as a literary endeavour. In a programmatic passage he terms

[2] See (e.g.) Leaf (1923) xiv–xv on Strabo's description of the Troad.
[3] Clarke (1999) 193–336 and Franco (2000) for this in the Troad.
[4] See for example the essays in Dueck, Lindsay, and Pothecary (2005).

the *Geography* 'a colossal statue of a work' (κολοσσουργία) and argues that it should be evaluated on the same grounds as one would a colossus: the success of the finished article is to be judged not so much on the individual details as on the impact of the whole.[5] Given all this, we clearly need to be alive to the possibility that Strabo is selecting, editing, and re-casting his material to pursue his own agenda.

The most prominent example of (what we would term) non-geographical concerns influencing Strabo's presentation of geography is his use of Homer.[6] Homer is cited over seven hundred times in the *Geography* and Strabo's introduction to the work is organized as an extended defence of Homer's reliability followed by attacks on those who have criticized him, above all the third-century BC polymath Eratosthenes.[7] The places which come up in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are also the regions which Strabo describes in most depth.[8] For example, Strabo's description of the Troad takes up a quarter of his entire discussion of Asia Minor even though in terms of total area the Troad covers just a sixtieth of this region.[9] Indeed, Strabo prefaces his account of the Troad first by apologizing for the length of his description and then by explaining why it is necessary:

> The first area on this coast is the Troad, whose fame, although it is left in ruins and desolation, nevertheless prompts in writers no ordinary prolixity. With this fact in view, I should ask the pardon of my readers and appeal to them not to fasten the blame for the length of my discussion upon me rather than upon those who strongly yearn for knowledge of the things that are famous and ancient. And my discussion is further prolonged by the number of the peoples who have colonized the country, both Greeks and barbarians, and by the historians, who do not write the same things on the same subjects, nor always clearly either; among the first of these is Homer, who leaves us to

[5] Strabo 1.1.23. For analysis of this image see Pothecary (2005) and Arena (2005).

[6] See Biraschi (1984), Dueck (2000) 31–40, Biraschi (2000), Biraschi (2005), Kim (2007), and Kim (2010).

[7] See Aujac (1969) 4–11 on Strabo's introduction, Bianchetti (2006) on Strabo's view of Eratosthenes, and Geus (2002) 260–88 for Eratosthenes' geography.

[8] See Biraschi (1994) on Strabo's Peloponnese and Franco (2000) and Trachsel (2007) 354–74 on his Troad.

[9] Leaf (1923) viii. For a recent discussion of Strabo's account of the Troad which gives rather less prominence to the problem of Homer than I do here (following Kim [2007] and [2010] 47–84) see Pfunter (2017).

conjecture about most things. And it is necessary for me to arbitrate between his statements and those of the others.[10]

Strabo twice makes similar statements while discussing Elis in the Peloponnese, stating that where present realities appear to depart from what we read in Homer we are obliged to work out how Homer could have been telling the truth. For, as Strabo explains, those who are most famous, oldest, and most experienced (*οἵ ἐνδοξότατοί τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν πρῶτοι*) are most to be believed, and in all three respects Homer is the *ne plus ultra* (*Ὁμήρου δ᾽ εἰς ταῦτα ὑπερβεβλημένου πάντας κτλ.*).[11]

Strabo's attitude towards Homer informs many parts of the *Geography* and is therefore crucial to understanding the work as a whole.[12] His insistence that Homer must be right and that where he appears to be wrong it is up to scholars to work out how he is in fact right after all underpins his introduction to the *Geography*, his polemics against other scholars, and his approach to describing regions which overlap with Homeric geography such as the Troad. The sensible compromise position which Strabo's predecessors had taken was that Homer was well-informed on nearby places (e.g. Greece, Asia Minor) but not on places further away (e.g. Egypt, Ethiopia, the Black Sea), and that as a poet his literary aims could be expected sometimes to trump his concern for accurate geographical descriptions.[13] By contrast, Strabo rejects any such attempts to water down his preferred view of Homer as a paragon of scholarly rigour and, as Lawrence Kim puts it, the ideal historian-geographer.[14] As Strabo writes at the very beginning of his work:

[10] Strabo 13.1.1 (adapted from Loeb).

[11] Strabo 8.3.3, 8.3.23.

[12] Kim (2007), Kim (2010) 47–84.

[13] Strabo 7.3.6: *ἃ δ᾽ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ Νεῶν προοιμιαζόμενος εἴρηκεν* [*FGrHist* 244 F 157a] *ἥκιστα λέγοιτ᾽ ἄν. ἐπαινεῖ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος* [fr. IA6 Berger = fr. 8 Roller] *καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ εἰδέναι τῶν δὲ πόρρω πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπείρους μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας ἀπείρους δὲ τοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι* ('What Apollodoros states in the preface to the second book of his work *On Ships* can by no means be asserted. For he approves the declaration of Eratosthenes that although both Homer and the other early authors knew the Greek places, they were decidedly unacquainted with those that were far away, since they had no experience either in making long journeys by land or in making voyages by sea'—Loeb translation).

[14] Kim (2010) 51–6.

> [Homer] has surpassed everyone, ancient and modern, not only in the excellence of his poetry, but also, I might say, in his experience of all that pertains to public life. And from this experience, he eagerly strove to learn about and transmit to those who came after him, not only as many events as possible, but also facts pertaining to places, both on an individual basis and with regard to the entire inhabited land and sea. Otherwise, he would not have reached its farthest borders, going around it in his description.[15]

This defence of Homer is interesting because, as Kim notes, '[It] rests not on *a priori* assertions of Homer's wisdom and encyclopedic knowledge, but on a conception of the poet as a dedicated historian, similar to the image implicit in Herodotus'.[16] What is at stake, therefore, in Strabo's image of Homer is not so much the idea that everything he wrote was absolutely *correct*—he acknowledges that Homer must have faced practical obstacles which made this impossible.[17] Rather, the key issue for Strabo is the *attitude* which he imagines Homer to have taken to the task of finding out about the world and then instructing his audience in what he had learned. It is thus very important to Strabo that Homer visited many of the places he mentions, that his reports are accurate to the best of his ability, and that he always puts instruction before entertainment. For Strabo, these are the qualities which make Homer's work educational for a career in public life and Homer himself an individual worth emulating in one's own approach to scholarship. As a result, whereas for Eratosthenes it was no impediment to admiring Homer as a poet to acknowledge that he made things up when writing about faraway places and from time to time indulged in poetic license, for Strabo these are calumnies against Homer's character which, if true, would be a fatal blow to his value as an author and make Homer as an individual no longer worthy of Strabo's admiration and emulation.

These broader concerns put a new complexion on Strabo's lengthy description of the Troad. Given that Strabo thought Homer had

[15] Strabo 1.1.2 (adapted from Loeb). [16] Kim (2010) 51.

[17] e.g. Strabo 1.2.13: *οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα πυθέσθαι, οὔθ' ἡμεῖς παρ' ἐκείνου ζητοῦμεν τὸ ἀκριβές; οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οὕτως ἔχομεν ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ μηδὲν πεπυσμένον περὶ τῆς πλάνης, μήθ' ὅπου μήθ' ὅπως γεγένηται, ῥαψῳδεῖν* ('We do not demand of the poet that he should have inquired accurately into every detail, nor do we in our school demand scientific accuracy in his statements; yet, even so, we surely are not entitled to assume that Homer composed the story of the wanderings without any inquiry at all, either as to where or as to how they occurred'—Loeb translation).

travelled to the edge of the *oikoumene*, knew of the existence of the Arctic Circle, and only grudgingly accepted that his knowledge of Ethiopia might be based on 'report' (*ἀκοή*) alone, then we must presume that he assumed Homer's knowledge of the place where the *Iliad* was actually set to have been flawless.[18] As Strabo emphasizes in the preface to his account of the Troad, with later writers the problem is having to sift through contradictory and misleading testimony in order to identify the nuggets of truth, whereas with Homer it is *all* true, and so the problem is instead that he leaves a great deal unsaid and so we must formulate the right conjectures in order to interpret him correctly.[19] Consequently, to Strabo's way of thinking, if it could be proved that Homer had got any part of his description of the Troad wrong or had invented any of it for poetic effect, then that would bring into question his entire view of Homer. As we have seen, when faced with evidence contradicting Homer, Strabo often went to significant lengths to demonstrate how, really, no such contradiction existed. While Strabo may therefore present his working method as an objective 'arbitration' (*διαιτᾶν*) between different traditions, in reality these discussions have a very clear agenda: prove Homer right. In the case of the Troad, the present-day reality which Strabo feels he needs to explain away is that the people of Ilion claim that they are the descendants of the Trojans and that their city is located on the site of Homeric Troy, whereas Strabo believes that Homer indicates a location for Troy elsewhere in the Troad. If the Ilians were right and Homer wrong, then, from Strabo's perspective, one could hardly imagine a more damning indictment of the poet's indifference to the realities on the ground.

As we now know, of course, the Ilians were indeed right. The excavations at Hisarlık conducted by Heinrich Schliemann, Carl Blegen, and Manfred Korfmann have shown that Ilion was built on top of a settlement inhabited throughout the third and second millennia (Troy I–VII).[20] After the Lower City was abandoned at the end

[18] Kim (2010) 50–1.

[19] Strabo 13.1.1: *καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς οὐχὶ τὰ αὐτὰ γράφοντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ σαφῶς πάντα· ὧν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐστὶν Ὅμηρος εἰκάζειν περὶ τῶν πλείστων παρέχων* ('. . . and the historians, who do not write the same things on the same subjects, nor always clearly either; among the first of these is Homer, who leaves us to guess about most things'—Loeb translation). See Kim (2010) 71–81 for further discussion of this distinction.

[20] Rose (2014) 8–43.

of the Troy VIIb period (*c.*1180–950) habitation continued on the citadel (which was also abandoned for periods in the ninth, mid-seventh, and fifth centuries), and from the mid-ninth century onwards ritual activity is attested in the West Sanctuary.[21] In the twentieth century, the decipherment of Hittite revealed that the settlement's post-Bronze Age name, Ilion, derived from its Bronze Age name, Wiluša. More generally, it became clear that the Achaians of the poem were the Aḫḫiyawans of Mycenaean Greece and that a number of places (Lesbos = Lazpa) and individuals (Paris/Alexander = Alakšandu, Eteokles = Etewoklewes) mentioned in the poem could also be identified in the Hittite documents. These documents revealed a Late Bronze Age (LBA) historical context which suggested that the oral traditions which ultimately produced the *Iliad* initially arose out of a milieu of recursive competition over western Asia Minor between the Greek-speaking peoples of Mycenaean Greece and groups speaking a variety of Anatolian languages in the region of modern-day Turkey.[22] Presumably, memories of this period survived the LBA collapse through oral tradition and came to be attached to the LBA fortifications which were still visible on Ilion's acropolis. Indeed, in the Hellenistic period these fortifications underwent restoration and stood behind the theatre where they would have been clearly visible.[23] Ilion's claim to be built on the site of 'Homeric Troy' was therefore correct and the claim of the Ilians to be descendants of the Trojans a reasonable one to make.

Many other readers of the *Iliad* both before and since Strabo have come to the conclusion that Homer does indeed indicate Hisarlık as the site of Troy, thus doing away with Strabo's 'problem'. It is therefore by no means inevitable that Strabo should have reached the opposite conclusion, and his reasons for becoming so certain of this are far from apparent.[24] Whatever the reason, however, once he had reached this conclusion, it is no surprise to discover that he devotes much of his description of the Troad to discrediting the Ilians and rescuing the

21 See in general Rose (2014) 44–63. Mid-seventh-century gap: Aslan (2009). 'Classical Gap' (*c.*500–*c.*425): Lawall (2002) esp. 207. Ritual activity at the West Sanctuary: Aslan and Rose (2013) 11–17. Ritual activity at a LBA cemetery NW of the West Sanctuary which has been interpreted as hero cult: Aslan (2011).

22 Bryce (2005) 357–71, Teffeteller (2013).

23 Rose (2014) 163–4 with fig. 8.4.

24 One possibility is that he was swayed by the 'scientific' arguments put forward by Hestiaia and Demetrios about the Scamander silting up: see n. 43 below.

character of Homer. Strabo's account of the Troad therefore operates, at one level, as a typical chorographic description of the region with much information included simply as a matter of course, but, at another level, as a multi-stage argument about the accuracy of Homer's description of the Troad and the untrustworthiness of the Ilians who appear to contradict him.

In his prefatory chapter (13.1.1: quoted above) Strabo casts the post-Trojan War history of the region and what historians have subsequently written about it as an obstacle to getting back to the truth, which is instead to be found in Homer. He explains that the prolixity of his account (*πολυλογία*) is due to the region's *πολυθρύλητον*, a word usually just translated as 'fame', but whose etymology more precisely evokes a confused babble of voices. This is how he would like us to think of the *συγγραφεῖς* ('historians/prose writers') who, he says, give contradictory and unclear accounts of this region. In both these respects, later historians are implicitly contrasted with the first of their number, Homer, who instead is only criticized for leaving too much unsaid and thus requiring us to form conjectures (*εἰκάζειν*) in order to recover the essential truth of his account. The rest of the introduction develops this argument further.[25] According to Strabo, Homer's definition of the region is to be preferred because it conforms to the region's 'nature' (*τὴν τῶν τόπων φύσιν*: 13.1.1), whereas the boundaries (*ὅροι*), names (*ὀνόματα*), and territorial divisions (*διαιρέσεις*) to be found in later works are the product of history, specifically Greek colonization, not geography, and are therefore an obstacle to perceiving the region's true character.[26]

Strabo's procedure is thus to identify passages in which he believes Homer is defining the Troad (e.g. the catalogue of Trojan allies: *Il.* 2.816–43; Achilles' reference to the 'Kingdom of Priam': *Il.* 24.543–6) and then show that the region's physical geography independently verifies (what he has taken to be) Homer's definition of the Troad.[27] Thus, the reference in the catalogue of Trojan allies to the Troes living at Zeleia under the lowest foot of Ida (*Il.* 2.824–6) leads him to adopt a rather generous definition of Mt Ida which encompasses not just the three principle peaks in the southern Troad (the modern Kaz Dağları), but also the entire upland region from the south-west tip of the Troad at Lekton to Zeleia in the Granikos valley (cf. Chapter 3.2.4).

[25] Strabo 13.1.2–8. [26] Strabo 13.1.3. [27] Strabo 13.1.2, 5–7.

Likewise, when Homer describes how, after the end of the Trojan War, Apollo diverted all the rivers of the Idaian mountains against the wall of the Achaians (*Il.* 12.19–22), Strabo takes this as further proof that the entire watershed of the Ida range can be taken as the definition of the Troad.[28] While some historical geographers have been impressed by Strabo's 'scientific' use of physical geography to define a region here, he is in fact being thoroughly opportunistic.[29] He is happy to call on physical geography when discussing Zeleia, which lies significantly to the east of anyone else's definition of the Troad (cf. 13.1.4 for alternative definitions), because it 'proves' Homer right, and he even extols the virtues of doing topography in this way with physical geography so as to arrive at the 'proper' definition of the Troad.[30] By contrast, when physical geography is no help to his view that Homer's Troad also included the area from Adramytteion down to the mouth of the Kaikos, he quickly switches to emphasizing human geography and cites twenty-two passages of the *Iliad* in quick succession to show that groups loyal to Priam inhabited this region, therefore making it part of the Troad.[31]

As a result of his desire to vindicate Homer, Strabo produces a profoundly anti-historical vision of the Troad. He acknowledges that the waves of Greek colonization which followed the Trojan War have completely changed the character of this region, and thus argues that the definitions of later writers reflect these post-Trojan War realities. However, he does not conclude from this that these historical realities are therefore the ones that he needs to describe in his *Geography*, but rather that they get in the way of the 'real' definition of the Troad which is instead to be found in Homer.[32] This leads him to dismiss accounts from actual inhabitants of the region (Damastes of Sigeion, Charon of Lampsakos, Ephoros of Kyme) and of western Asia Minor (Eudoxos of Knidos, Skylax of Karyanda) who were writing history and geography in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as if the rather more realistic definitions of the Troad which these individuals propose were simply a form of regional false consciousness.[33] Although Strabo claims that he is simply 'arbitrating' (διαιτᾶν: 13.1.1) between the evidence of Homer and later writers, it is clear that he is only

[28] Strabo 13.1.5.

[29] See e.g. Leaf (1923) xvi–xxv, especially the rather surprising statement at xxiii: 'Strabo's method . . . of explaining the meaning of the Troad from the statements of Homer is in conception perfectly sound and rational.'

[30] Strabo 13.1.5.

[31] Strabo 13.1.7 with Leaf (1923) xxiii–xxiv.

[32] Strabo 13.1.1, 3, 8.

[33] Strabo 13.1.4.

interested in vindicating Homer and that in order to do so he is willing to ignore the realities of how this region actually functioned in historical times.[34]

Following this programmatic introduction, Strabo continues to pursue these arguments in his description of the Troad in three main ways. Firstly, he takes every opportunity to show how accurate Homer's description of the Troad is in order to build up a sense of his general reliability. Already in the introduction he has been keen to make the strikingly banal observations that *πολυπῖδαξ* ('many-springed') is an appropriate epithet for Mt Ida and that *ἄκρον* ('highest point') likewise accurately describes the Gargaran peak of Ida.[35] In his description of the Troad from the Aisepos to Abydos (13.1.9–23) he tries to find locations for Homeric Adrasteia (which probably did not exist), Mt Tereia (actually located east of Kyzikos, not west of it in the Troad), and Paisos (a post-LBA Milesian colony), as well as all the rivers which Homer mentions from this region.[36] When he is unable to locate Homeric Arisbe and Perkote along the Asian shore of the Dardanelles, he simply explains this away as being the result of poor evidence.[37] He even tries to interpret the perfectly unexceptional epithet 'wealthy' (*ἀφνειοί*) which Homer attributes to the Troes of Zeleia as having derived from an otherwise unattested name of nearby Lake Daskylitis.[38] Similarly, his account of the Troad from Cape Lekton down to the Kaikos devotes a significant amount of space to establishing where Homer's Leleges and Cilicians lived along this coast.[39]

Secondly, Strabo argues that Homeric Troy cannot be where Ilion is. Strabo begins his discussion of Ilion by establishing the apparently unrelated point that Homeric Dardania was located in the interior of the Troad (*τὰ παρώρεια τῆς Ἴδης*: 13.1.24). This is then followed by what at first sight seems to be an equally unconnected discussion of Plato's theory of the development of human civilization since the great flood.[40] Plato argues that after the flood humans were afraid of the sea and so only developed more sophisticated *politeiai* as they

[34] Compare Strabo 8.3.23 using *διαιτᾶν* in the same way regarding Homer on Elis.

[35] Strabo 13.1.5. On *πολυπῖδαξ* see again 13.1.43 (this time citing Demetrios of Skepsis).

[36] Strabo 13.1.13, 17, 19, 21. See *IACP* p. 976 (Adrasteia), no. 763 (Tereia), no. 755 (Paisos).

[37] Strabo 13.1.20. [38] Strabo 13.1.9. [39] Strabo 13.1.51–70.

[40] Strabo 13.1.25, discussing Plato, *Laws* 3.677–9.

overcame this fear and moved down from the mountain-tops (ἀκρώρειαι) to the foothills (ὑπώρειαι) and eventually to the plains (πεδία). Strabo suggests that Plato should have included further stages, for example dwelling by the coast (παραλία) and finally on the islands (νῆσοι). He then goes on to associate the time of Dardanos and the foundation of Dardania with the foothills stage (hence the significance of his discussion of Dardania's location in 13.1.24) and to associate Ilos and the foundation of Homeric Troy with the plains stage. He then argues that contemporary Ilion's location means that it belongs to the coast stage (which he has just added to Plato's schema) and thus cannot be Homeric Troy. The same set of techniques (hair-splitting definitions, circular arguments, question-begging assumptions, and the misuse of both Homer and later writers) likewise characterizes his discussion of the Trojan Plain in which he uses a series of rather unpersuasive arguments from likelihood and probability (εἰκός, πιθανότης) to argue that Homer's description of the plain rules out the possibility of Ilion being Troy.[41]

Finally, Strabo accounts for the fact that the Ilians claim that their city is built on the site of Troy and that they are descendants of the Trojans by arguing, firstly, that they cannot be right because there was a total break in settlement following the Trojan War and then, secondly, that the Ilians have a long history of lying about their Homeric heritage in order to convince powerful outsiders to shower gifts on them. In support of these arguments, Strabo makes extensive use of the second century BC scholar Demetrios of Skepsis who wrote a commentary on the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships in which he frequently denigrated contemporary Ilion, undermined its claims to a Homeric heritage, and argued that the real Troy was to be located elsewhere in the Troad.[42] In composing this work, Demetrios drew on the late third-century scholars Hestiaia and Hegesianax of Alexandreia Troas who likewise sought to undermine Ilian claims to antiquity in their works.[43] If Strabo had been interested in producing

[41] Strabo 13.1.33–42.

[42] There are two recent editions: L. Pagani, 'Demetrius [2]' *LGGA* (publ. 20 February 2006) and A. M. Biraschi, 'Demetrios von Skepsis (2013)' *FGrHist* V (publ. 1 July 2011) which includes commentary. For the local polemic in the *Troikos Diakosmos* see Ragone (2009).

[43] Hestiaia: A. Ippolito, 'Hestiaea' *LGGA* (publ. 31 March 2006). Hegesianax: V. Costa, 'Hegesianax of Alexandreia Troas (45)' *FGrHist* (publ. 1 April 2014).

a balanced account he could have made use, for example, of the *Periegesis of Ilion* written by Hegesianax's contemporary, the widely read Polemo of Ilion (*c.*220–*c.*160).[44] Instead, Strabo preferred to use the highly partisan and strongly anti-Ilion account of Demetrios, at least so long as what he wrote conformed with Strabo's own views.[45]

Strabo argues that the original site of Troy was abandoned because it was considered cursed and that the current city of Ilion was only settled during the reign of the Lydian king Croesus.[46] The local traditions which the Ilians point to as evidence of continuity are dismissed as subsequent fabrications. According to Strabo, the Lokrian maidens tradition only dates back to the period of Persian rule, while the Palladion which the Ilians display cannot be the same item to which Homer refers because it is a standing not a seated figure.[47] In support of his argument, Strabo is happy to quote the statement of the Athenian orator Lycurgus in a transparently rhetorical passage of the *Contra Leocratem* (delivered in 330) stating that Ilion in his day was completely uninhabited.[48] Conversely, the statement of the fifth-century historian Hellanikos of Mytilene in his *Troika* that the present-day Ilians were indeed the descendants of the Trojans is dismissed as typical flattery, even though, as Strabo knows, Ilion was subject to Mytilene in Hellanikos' day and, as he has claimed only a few chapters earlier, Ilion was little more than a village at this time, and therefore a fairly unlikely subject of Hellanikos' flattery.[49]

Strabo draws on the partisan testimony of Demetrios of Skepsis to present Hellenistic Ilion as a minor village of the Troad which only came to prominence by trading on its Homeric heritage in order to secure the patronage of powerful and wealthy individuals such as Alexander the Great, Lysimachos, Sulla, and Caesar. Strabo writes that Ilion was just a village with a small and cheap temple to Athena

[44] A. A. Donohue, 'Polemon [2]' *BNP* 458–9. *Periegesis of Ilion*: *FHG* III FF 31–3 Müller.

[45] Strabo's praise for Demetrios: 13.1.43 = *FGrHist* V 2013 T 5; 13.1.45 = *FGrHist* V 2013 T 4. Strabo's criticism of Demetrios: 13.1.45, 53 = *FGrHist* V 2013 FF 31, 35.

[46] Strabo 13.1.25, 42.

[47] Strabo 13.1.40–41. For discussion of the Lokrian maidens myth and the ritual reality see Hornblower (2015) 404–19, esp. 407–11.

[48] Strabo 13.1.41 (quoting *Contra Leocratem* 62). Lycrugus is arguing that once a city is destroyed it never recovers: for the purpose of his argument, therefore, Ilion *must* have remained abandoned, even if that is clearly false.

[49] Flattery of Hellanikos: Strabo 13.1.42 = *BNJ* 4 T 22. Ilion (or the Troad in general) subject to Mytilene: Strabo 13.1.39. Ilion a village pre-Alexander: Strabo 13.1.26–7.

before Alexander's visit in 334 and that even a century later it was still a kind of village-city (κωμόπολις) where, according to Demetrios, who visited as a boy in the 190s, the houses lacked tiles on their roofs, and which, according to Hegesianax, the Galatians did not even bother to occupy during their invasion of 278/7 because it lacked walls.[50] Strabo characterizes the present-day Ilians with the double-edged term φιλοδοξοῦντες ('glory-loving': 13.1.25) and explains at some length how Alexander and Caesar in particular were motivated to grant extraordinary benefactions to the Ilians because of the city's supposed links to Homeric Troy.[51] Strabo's argument is therefore clear: if the Ilians had not fabricated their connection to the Homeric tradition, they would not have received the patronage of powerful men and so would still have been a little-known village in the Troad. In modern scholarship, this argument has converged with old ideas about the decline of the post-Classical polis to produce an account of Hellenistic Ilion's history in which its prosperity is to be explained entirely in terms of royal and Roman patronage and Homeric tourism.[52] The reality, as revealed by epigraphy, numismatics, and new archaeology, is rather more complex.

Ilion was certainly a modest settlement in the Classical period, and for a brief period in the fifth century the site even appears to have been temporarily abandoned.[53] However, by the early fourth century we begin to see signs of revival (Figure 1.1). Recent excavations of the West Sanctuary and ritual deposits associated with the temple of Athena Ilias suggest that both sites were attracting increased attention in the fourth century from both the Greek and Persian inhabitants of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia.[54] Similarly, the evidence of amphora finds suggests that commercial activity was intensifying and Ilion's horizons were becoming much broader in this period.[55] It is in keeping with this overall picture that an honorific decree dated

[50] Strabo 13.1.26; 13.1.27 (citing Demetrios of Skepsis *FGrHist* V 2013 T 3 = F 21 and Hegesianax of Alexandreia Troas *BNJ* 45 F 3).

[51] Strabo 13.1.27.

[52] See for example Brückner (1902) 576–93, Bellinger (1961) 1–12, Thompson (1963) 3–5, 61–6, and Rose (2014) *passim*, as noted and criticized by P. Thonemann, 'Harry and Hecuba' *TLS* (27 March 2015) 7–8. For a more balanced assessment see Pillot (2016).

[53] See n. 21.

[54] Berlin (2002), Berlin and Lynch (2002), Wallrodt (2002). For numismatic evidence which complements this picture see now Ellis-Evans (2018) 51–8.

[55] Lawall (2002).

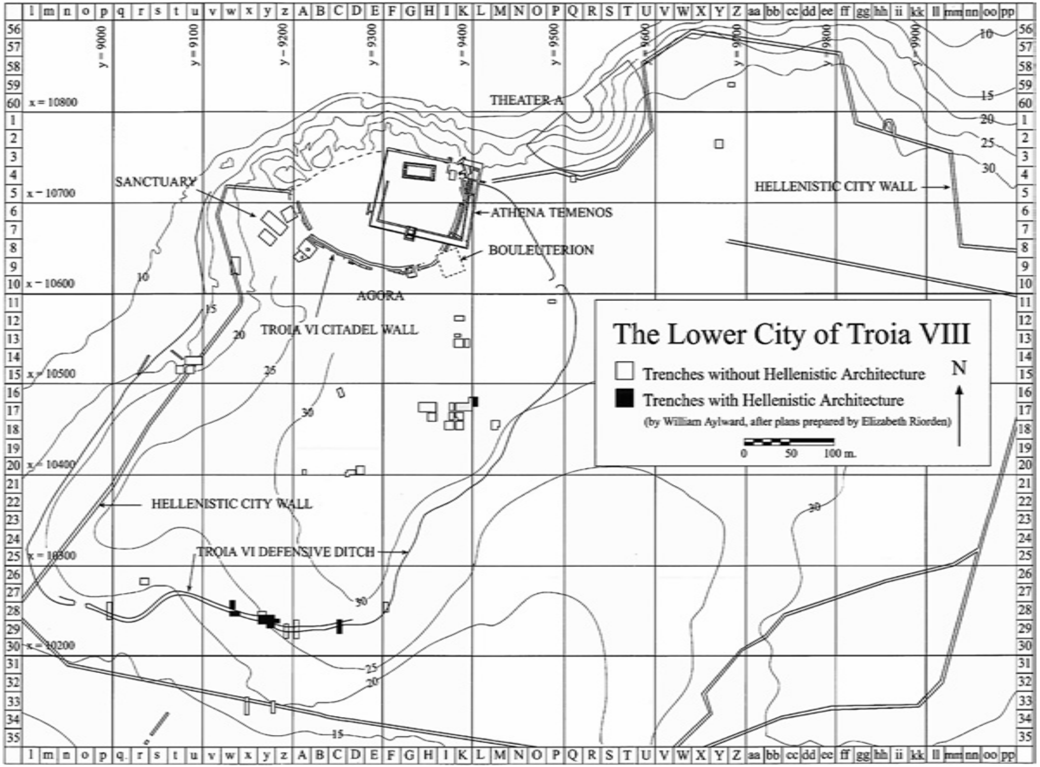


Figure 1.1. Map of the Tübingen-Cincinnati excavations of Troy VIII = *c.*950–85 BC (1998 season). Berlin (1999).

Source: William Aylward, Troia Projekt, University of Tübingen.

to *c.*359 suggests that Ilion was already a polis twenty-five years before Alexander supposedly granted this status to the city.[56] While Strabo attributes the major changes in Ilion's fortunes to Alexander, we do not actually see any substantive improvements to the fabric of the city until *c.*300 when the city's theatre was built, the so-called Early Hellenistic Building was constructed in the West Sanctuary, and activity in the city's quarry suggests that work was also being done on the citadel.[57]

At least some of this activity should be attributed not to any royal patron but rather to the formation of the koinon of Athena Ilias.[58] The koinon was formed by the cities of the Troad shortly before 306 BC with the purpose of jointly organizing the annual Panathenaia festival in honour of Athena Ilias at Ilion.[59] While the tax revenues collected at the Panathenaia went not to Ilion but to the koinon and were used to cover the costs of running the festival, Ilion will have nevertheless benefited greatly from hosting such a large festival.[60] In addition to the economic boost to the city which playing host to thousands of festival-goers provided, the other cities of the Troad now also had a vested interest in seeing improvements made to the urban fabric of Ilion because of their participation in the koinon. For example, the theatre built in the last decade of the fourth century was paid for by Malousios of Gargara with a benefaction amounting to 4.83 T of silver

[56] *I. Ilion* 23 (proxeny grant).

[57] See Rose (1991) on the theatre, Rose (1998) 76–85 on the Early Hellenistic Building, and Aylward (1999) 168–9 nn. 32 and 37 for use of the quarry in sector w28 in this period.

[58] For overviews of the koinon's history and institutions see Robert (1966), Boffo (1985) 114–23, Knoepfler (2010), and Ellis-Evans (2016a).

[59] The dating of the koinon's foundation depends on the interpretation of *I. Ilion* 1, a broken inscription containing six decrees (perhaps more originally) relating to the major benefaction of Malousios of Gargara. Since Decree 1 refers to sending an embassy πρὸς Ἀντίγονον (line 9) whereas Decree 2 refers to πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (line 24), it has been assumed that Decree 1 relates to 311–306 when Antigonos controlled the Troad but did yet use the royal title and Decree 2 (and by implication Decrees 3–6) to 306–301, the period down to his death: Hirschfeld (1875) 154, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) no. 424, Robert (1966) 20–1. However, Frisch (1975) 6 argued that the chronological order of the decrees should be reversed and Verkinderen (1987) that the king in Decree 2 was Alexander and the context therefore spring 334 (most recently followed by Pillot [2016] 147). For criticism of these reconstructions see, respectively, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 66 and P. Gauthier, *BE* (1988) 419.

[60] For the finances of the koinon see Lefèvre and Pillot (2015) and for its coinage Ellis-Evans (2016a).

which was offered not to the city of Ilion but rather to the koinon of Athena Ilias.[61] Presumably, Malousios was motivated to make such a generous donation to the koinon because the Panathenaia offered a much grander stage on which to display his liberality than his small hometown of Gargara. While royal benefactions and Roman patronage provided Ilion with intermittent windfalls, the mainstay of its increased prosperity in the Hellenistic period will have been its privileged status as host of the annual Panathenaia festival.[62] Over the course of the third century the increased business which the festival brought to Ilion was complemented by a steady expansion of the city's territory and population through the absorption of neighbouring communities.[63] As a result, by the time of the Peace of Apameia in 188 Ilion had a territory equivalent in size to that of the largest city in the Troad, Alexandreia Troas. While Demetrios maliciously claimed that Ilion's houses did not even have roofs in the 190s (a claim which archaeology has recently disproved), the reality is that by this point Ilion was just as prosperous, if not probably much more so, than Skepsis.[64]

As a result of the particular set of concerns which Strabo brings to his account of the Troad and the history of Ilion, he gives us a profoundly misleading impression of both subjects. His regional definition of the Troad bears little relation to the historical realities regarding which cities were or were not heavily interconnected to one another, while his history of Hellenistic Ilion exaggerates the role of royal and Roman benefaction, underplays the initiative of Ilion and the other cities of the Troad in making their own luck, and makes no mention of the cardinal fact for understanding Ilion's development in the Hellenistic period: the koinon of Athena Ilias. While individual aspects of Strabo's picture have been challenged in the past on the basis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence in particular, it is important to emphasize how a close reading of Strabo reveals the entire account to be systematically unreliable in quite predictable ways.

[61] *I. Ilion* 1.

[62] For a survey of the many revenue streams available to Greek cities in addition to subventions see Migeotte (2014) ch. 3, and for the sources of the koinon's income Lefèvre and Pillot (2015). The significant expansion in the production of terracotta figurines at Ilion in the third–first century BC may well be linked to the festival: Thompson (1963) 62–5.

[63] The evidence is discussed in Ellis-Evans (2017) 39 n. 46 and 46–7. For a different understanding of the evidence see Boehm (2018) 62–3.

[64] Roof tiles: Hasaki (1999).

Although the shortcomings of Strabo's account are therefore considerable, it is also worth noting what there is of value in it. No one would wish to endorse Strabo's expansive definition of a Troad which extends from Zeleia to the mouth of the Kaikos, since it stretches far into regions of Mysia and Aiolis which were quite weakly integrated into the Troad and had little to do with one another. However, the idea which animates Strabo's definition of the Troad—a region defined by where the action of the *Iliad* was imagined to have taken place—has some merit. Within this area, which happens to have been described in considerable detail in the *Iliad*, cities could, as Ilion did, lay claim to this Homeric heritage in order to further their own agendas and, as we see from the sniping comments of Hestiaia and Hegesianax of Alexandreia Troas and Demetrios of Skepsis, challenge such claims and advance counter-claims favouring one's own city. Arguments of this sort happened all over the Greek world, but only in this particular region could they be conducted to such a great extent with reference to the text of the *Iliad*.[65] Whether the cities of the Troad were uniting in worship of Athena Ilias and her cult statue the Palladion or bitterly disagreeing with one another over their shared Homeric heritage, the *Iliad* served to bring the cities of this region together and encouraged the region's inhabitants to see one another as peers to be either relied upon or bested as the situation demanded.

1.3 THE POSTHUMOUS LYSIMACHI OF ILION

Coins represent a body of evidence which can help us circumvent the particular ideological and intellectual concerns which colour how Strabo and others have described the Troad as a region. While the images and legends on coins can of course convey their own set of ideological messages, the factors which determined the physical form of coins and how they were used in commerce instead primarily reflect economic concerns. As a result, we can use coins to see which people and places mattered most to Ilion in the sphere of commerce, and thus to build up a picture of the city's regional economy which cross-cuts the image of its regional personality

[65] Compare Thonemann (2011) ch. 2 on the 'hydrographic heroes' of the Lykos valley and Russell (2017) ch. 1 on the common mythological heritage which the Argonauts provided for the Bosporos.

which emerges from a source such as Strabo. In particular, the evidence of the posthumous Lysimachi minted by Ilion, Abydos, and Lampsakos in the second quarter of the second century suggest that, at least in economic terms, the Troad was not a natural unity as Strabo liked to imagine, but rather two discrete spheres, a northern and a southern Troad, with very different commercial horizons.[66]

The physical and aesthetic characteristics of ancient coins represent a series of decisions made by the minting authority which, when placed in their broader numismatic context, can reveal the minting authority's network of commercial relationships and the markets which mattered most to it. When a city decided to mint coinage it had to make a number of choices about the metal, weight standard, denominations, and types to be used which would affect whether the coinage achieved the purpose for which it was being minted. For example, if a city needed to provide small change for internal use then it would mint bronze coinage in an array of different denominations, whereas if it wanted to make high value external payments it would choose to mint large denomination coins in a precious metal such as silver, electrum, or gold. To attempt to use either of these coinages for the purpose of the other coinage would have been impractical and resulted in failure.

In addition to considering the primary use for which a coinage was being minted, cities also needed to consider the particular preferences of the market for which the coinage was destined. For example, a coinage was more likely to be accepted in commerce if it was minted on the same weight standard and in the same denominations as other coinages circulating in that market, or at the very least was easily convertible into these. Indeed, these considerations are one reason why so many mints across the Greek world converged on silver tetradrachms on the Attic weight standard as the coin of choice for international commerce in the Hellenistic period. In addition to this, a region could express preferences for metal—e.g. electrum and gold was often preferred to silver in Thrace, the Propontis, and the Black Sea—or for coins with particular types—e.g. the types of King Lysimachos' lifetime coinage (minted 297–281) which were used for the posthumous Lysimachi we will be looking at. In these ways, the

66 Based on a study of the circulation of bronze coinage within the Troad, Robert (1951) 69–100 reached a similar conclusion regarding the existence of a north/south divide within the region.

characteristics of coinages can reveal the regional economic networks of the cities which minted them.

Table 1.1 below summarizes the output of Ilion's mint in the Hellenistic period. The coinages issued by the mint can be usefully divided between 'royal' and 'civic' issues to illustrate whose financial resources and priorities the coinages represent. The royal issues are immediately recognizable by the fact that they use the types of the Seleukid kings who minted them. These coinages tend to be made up of the highest value silver coins (tetradrachms) and tell us about the resources and spending of Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax, not of Ilion. The civic coinages in Table 1.1 can be divided into three groups determined by their coin types: (1) coins with the city of Ilion's types (the bronzes, the low value silver tetrobols); (2) coins which adopt the types of the long-dead King Lysimachos (died 281) but feature a symbol of Ilion (an owl) to indicate the city as the minting authority (the silver tetradrachms); (3) coins with the types of the koinon of Athena Ilias (silver tetradrachms and, late in the series, lower value coins such as didrachms and drachms).

Table 1.1. The output of the mint at Ilion in the Hellenistic period.

Date	Coinages	Reference	Notes
Mid-fourth century onwards	Civic bronze Several denominations	Bellinger (1961) T 1–8, 24–30, 59–78. 82–91, 100–1, 106	
261–246 (Antiochos II)	Royal silver Tetradrachms	*SC* 1.488	Die transfers from Abydos
242–227 (Antiochos Hierax)	Royal silver Tetradrachms	*SC* 1.864–72	Die transfers from Alexandreia Troas
Late third/early second century	Civic silver Tetrobols	Bellinger (1961) T 31	Small issue (two obverse dies, fourteen examples)
180s–150s	Civic silver Tetradrachms	Bellinger (1961) T 32–5	Posthumous Lysimachi (four obverse dies, seven examples)
180s/170s–50s	Civic silver Tetradrachms (mostly) Didrachms (1; 70s–50s) Drachms (7; 70s–50s)	Ellis-Evans (2016a)	Produced at Ilion's mint but belong to the collectively run koinon of Athena Ilias

If we look into the details of this minting activity, the picture of Hellenistic Ilion which emerges is of a polis which was mid-ranking in all respects. During the sole reign of Antiochos II (261–246), Ilion produced a single issue of silver tetradrachms with his types. However, to mint this coinage the city used an obverse die first employed at neighbouring Abydos and which was subsequently transferred to Alexandreia Troas, and used a reverse die which was probably cut at Abydos on Ilion's behalf.[67] These instances of die transfers are evidence that Abydos was the administratively important place in the Troad at this time, Ilion a subordinate satellite mint of comparatively less importance. During the period when the Seleukid usurper Antiochos Hierax made the Troad the centre of his kingdom (242–227), Ilion became a significant royal mint for the first and last time in its history, producing perhaps as many as fifteen issues of silver tetradrachms with the pretender's types.[68] However, significant as this minting activity is for Ilion, we need to place it in perspective: in terms of issues minted, this is more than Skepsis (two issues), Lysimacheia (three issues), and Abydos (eight issues), but less than Lampsakos (twenty-two silver issues, one gold issue) and Parion (twenty-five issues), and significantly less than Alexandreia Troas (forty-two silver issues, one gold issue).[69] Moreover, we once again have evidence of die transfers, this time from Alexandreia Troas, indicating Ilion's subordinate position.[70]

This picture of Ilion as a mid-ranking polis which emerges from the royal coinages is complemented by the evidence of the civic coinages. Ilion began minting bronze coinage in the mid-fourth century, and, much like the other larger cities in the Troad, continued to do so with some consistency throughout the Hellenistic period.[71] By contrast, its record of minting higher value silver coinages is much weaker.[72] Ilion did not participate in a number of the major monetary

[67] *SC* 1:176, no. 488. [68] *SC* 1:306–8, nos. 864–72.
[69] *SC* 1:297–315, nos. 835–87. [70] *SC* 1:292 and 308–13, nos. 873–83.
[71] Bellinger T 1–8, 24–30, 59–78, 82–91, 100–1, 106. See Ellis-Evans (2018) 51–8 for the date of Ilion's earliest bronze coinage (Bellinger T 2).
[72] I have not included the anepigraphic silver coins with the helmeted Athena/Palladion and Rhodian-style rose types which have been attributed to the mint at Ilion: Lazzarini (1984), Mannsperger and Mannsperger (2002) 3:1091–3. In Ellis-Evans (2018) 51–8 I date these coins to the 350s and conclude that they were minted at either Sigeion or Ilion, but by Memnon of Rhodes rather than either of these cities. As a result, their inclusion here would not substantially alter my argument.

phenomena which led to the minting of silver coinages at many other mints in western Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period (e.g. the production of Persic weight silver coinages in the first half of the third century, the minting of posthumous Lysimachi and Alexanders in the 270s). In the late third or early second century Ilion produced an issue of silver tetrobols on the Attic weight standard, but these were lower value silver coins and minted in very small quantities (only two obverse dies are attested, thus indicating a short-lived issue).[73] Ilion produced its only issue of high value tetradrachms soon after the Peace of Apameia in 188 when it minted a series of silver tetradrachms on the Attic weight standard using the types of King Lysimachos and thus variously known as 'posthumous', 'late', or 'pseudo' Lysimachi—these will be discussed in further detail below.[74] Finally, from the late 180s/early 170s down to the 60s/50s BC, the mint at Ilion produced silver tetradrachms (and, much later in the series, occasionally didrachms and drachms) for the koinon of Athena Ilias. The silver for this series belonged not to Ilion but to the koinon of Athena Ilias and, as I have argued elsewhere, these coins were minted so that the koinon's *agonothetai* could make external payments when organizing the annual festival.[75] Thus, with the exception of the posthumous Lysimachi, we only ever see Ilion mint high value coins when the silver is provided by an entity other than the city of Ilion (i.e. Seleukids kings in the third century, the koinon in the second and first century).

Of the various coinages minted at Ilion by a variety of different minting authorities (i.e. Ilion, the koinon of Athena Ilias, Seleukid kings), the posthumous Lysimachi perhaps reveal the most about the city's regional economic network. Posthumous coinages are so called because they used the types of a deceased ruler. This was done to

[73] Bellinger T 31. Meadows (2004) 56–7 argues that these are hemidrachms minted on the Persic standard (drachm: 5.6 g) and therefore belong in the first half of the third century along with similar coinages of Alexandreia Troas, Abydos, Mytilene, Kyme, and Skepsis. However, the Ilian coins are distinguished from these mints by being appreciably lighter (median weight of 2.10–2.19 g, two fresh examples at 2.34 g) and having their die axes consistently adjusted to 12 h, a development associated with the mid-Hellenistic period in this region: Callataÿ (1996) 66–7 (Hellespont), 101–17 (whole Greek world). Kagan (1984) 14–17 places the two Skepsis tetrobols with similar weights (2.45 g, 2.42 g) to the Ilian coins in the late third/early second century on the basis of the bead-and-reel pattern on the reverse, an innovation of Antiochos III's coinage. In addition, all the tetrobols and diobols of this series have fixed dies.

[74] Bellinger T 32–5.

[75] Ellis-Evans (2016a).

ensure the wide acceptability of the coins in international trade and, in the case of monarchs producing posthumous coinages of their predecessors, to establish the current ruler's dynastic legitimacy.[76] As a result of these differing aims, whereas posthumous coinages minted by monarchs can be found imitating the coinages of a variety of rulers, posthumous coinages minted by cities limited themselves to imitating the coinage of Alexander the Great (r. 336–323) and, to a much lesser extent, Lysimachos (r. 306–281).[77] While these civic posthumous coinages use royal types, they were minted with a city's bullion in order to meet its economic needs and as a result need to be treated as civic issues unless there are good reasons for thinking that a king stood behind the coinage.[78]

Whereas posthumous Alexanders are encountered everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean in the third and second century BC, the minting of posthumous Lysimachi is a phenomenon limited to eastern Thrace, the Dardanelles, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. This area overlaps with part of Lysimachos' kingdom, but the decision of a civic mint to produce posthumous Lysimachi in fact had relatively little to do with his rule. Some of the mints which produced his lifetime royal coinage in his own types (minted 297–281) may have also produced Lysimachi in the years immediately following his death, but only a handful continued to do so later in the third and second century. By contrast, none of the lifetime mints south of Tenedos or east of Ainos in Thrace produced posthumous Lysimachi, and in fact the two most prolific producers of the silver tetradrachms and gold staters with the types of Lysimachos were Byzantion and Kalchedon who had never even belonged to his kingdom and did not begin to mint Lysimachi until almost two decades after his death in the late 260s.[79] The fact that these coins were minted as high value

[76] Mørkholm (1991) 41–2, 55–63, 128–9 (posthumous royal coinages), 93–4, 137–48 (posthumous civic coinages), Thonemann (2015) 10–11.

[77] The posthumous Alexanders were collected in Price (1991) and are now being updated by the Pella Project <http://numismatics.org/pella/>. The posthumous Lysimachi lack a similar catalogue, but those of Byzantion and Kalchedon are dealt with in great depth by Marinescu (1996) and will receive definitive treatment in his forthcoming monograph to be published by the American Numismatic Society.

[78] Le Rider, *Études* 1:276, Mørkholm (1991) 137. For an example of a series of posthumous Alexanders very likely backed by royal silver see Meadows (2009) on the Perge Alexanders (223/2–191/0).

[79] For the alleged lifetime Lysimachi minted by Byzantion and Kalchedon see Marinescu (1996) 25–8.

tetradrachms and were not complemented with much smaller denominations suitable for use in medium and low-value transactions indicates that they were not being minted for internal use in these cities, but rather for making large external payments.[80] As Constantin Marinescu has demonstrated, the dominance of the mints of Byzantion and Kalchedon within the region was such that when other mints wanted to produce their own Lysimachi they often outsourced the job of cutting the dies to what he dubs the 'Bosporos Workshop' which jointly produced Byzantion and Kalchedon's coinage.[81] Since the phenomenon of minting posthumous Lysimachi was limited to a particular geographic region and often occurred with the help of two cities either side of the Bosporos straits, a city's decision to mint Lysimachi is therefore a strong indication that it participated heavily in the commercial network centred on the Bosporos straits.[82]

For most of the third century, posthumous coinages were discreet in indicating their civic origins and in general stuck fairly closely to the physical appearance of the lifetime issues of Alexander and Lysimachos. Only in the late third century, and in particular following the Peace of Apameia, do they start to make their civic origins plain. Table 1.2 illustrates this development across the third and second century with the posthumous Alexanders of Mytilene (discussed again in Chapter 5.3.5).

The posthumous Alexanders which Mytilene produced *c.*275 were little changed from those which had been produced in Alexander's lifetime over fifty years earlier. Indeed, it would be difficult to identify the mint at all if it were not for the lyre in left field which we know indicates Mytilene as the mint from its use on later and much more easily attributable issues.[83] By contrast, the Alexanders which Mytilene issued *c.*215–200 show changes to the fabric of the coin (e.g. broadening flans which increasingly have hammered edges) and, in addition to or replacing the lyre, add monograms as well as images which identify the minting authority much more precisely, for

[80] This is also indicated by the fact that, on the rare occasions these coins returned to Byzantion, they were countermarked just as Byzantion also countermarked all other high value coinages used in international commerce which came into the city: see Marinescu (1996) 388–97, Marinescu (2000).

[81] Marinescu (1996) 334–72, Marinescu (2004).

[82] For an analysis of the workings of this network see Russell (2017).

[83] Price (1991) 1:244.

Table 1.2. Development of the posthumous Alexanders of Mytilene between the early third century and the late third/early second century BC.

Date	*c.*275 (Price 1697)	*c.*215–200 (Price 1698–1705)	*c.*188–170 (Price 1706–39)
Reverse Type	(a) 	(b) 	(c) 
Reference	*BNF* R 4028 (Price 1697)	*ANS* 1944.100.31446 (Price 1698)	*BM* 1982,0728.1 (Price 1739)
Diameter (if known)	Range: 27–30 mm Median: 30 mm (3/5 examples)	Range: 28–36 mm Median: 31–2 mm (13/25 examples)	Range: 30–7 mm Median: 34–6 mm (22/28 examples)
Other Diagnostic Features	(1) No hammered edges. (2) Lyre the only distinguishing mark.	(1) Hammered edges about half of the time. (2) Monograms. (3) Images specific to Mytilene (here a herm—see Chapter 5.3.5).	(1) Hammered edges most of the time. (2) Monograms and/or more than one image. (3) Magistrate names in exergue.

Figures: (a) Reverse of a silver tetradrachm with the types of Alexander, Mytilene, *c.*275 BC. *BNF* R 4028 = Price 1697. (b) Reverse of silver tetradrachm with types of Alexander, Mytilene, *c.*215–200 BC. *ANS* 1944.100.31446 = Price 1698. (c) Reverse of silver tetradrachm with types of Alexander, Mytilene, *c.*188–170 BC. *BM* 1982,0728.1 = Price 1739.

(a) *Source*: © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>. (b) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (c) © Trustees of the British Museum.

example the herm of Dionysos.[84] By *c.*188–170, the Alexanders have the broad flans and hammered edges which will be particularly characteristic of civic coinage for the first two-thirds of the second century, the number of control marks (i.e. monograms and subsidiary images) increases to three, the variety of subsidiary images expands significantly, and towards the very end of the series magistrate names begin to appear.[85] Minor variations on this 'package' of characteristics are to be found on all the posthumous civic coinages produced in

[84] Price (1991) 1:244–5. For discussion of this cult see Chapter 5.3.5.

[85] Price (1991) 1:245–6. Development of broad flans: Mørkholm (1991) 12. Hammering edges: Callataÿ (2006) 148–52. Magistrate names on Mytilene's Alexanders: Price 1737–9.

Figure 1.2. (a) Silver tetradrachm with the types of Lysimachos, Abydos, *c.*175–150 BC. *BNF* 1975.4. (b) Silver tetradrachm with the types of Lysimachos, Lampsakos, *c.*175–150 BC. *Triton* 13 (4 January 2010) 1280. Note the beginning of a magistrate's name (*ΣΚΥ*) on the reverse in the inner left field.

(a) *Source*: © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>. (b) © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. <http://www.cngcoins.com>.

the first half of the second century. For example, although Abydos and Lampsakos (Figure 1.2.a–b) chose to adopt the types of Lysimachos instead of Alexander, they still produced coins with broad flans, hammered edges, prominent identification of the minting authority (in this case using city ethnics and civic badges) and, in the case of Lampsakos, a magistrate's name.

The point at which we see this package of changes take effect (late third/early second century) coincides with the period when we also see a large number of mints begin to produce posthumous coinage which had either never done so before or had not done so for a very long time (e.g. Mytilene had not produced Alexanders since *c.*275). For the Troad, the consequence of this is that we get to see with much greater clarity which mints, when given the choice, would choose to produce coins with the types of Lysimachos instead of coins with the types of Alexander. As a result, we can see much more clearly which cities perceived their commercial interests to lie with the regional economic network centred on Byzantion and Kalchedon and which perceived their interests to lie elsewhere. If we turn to the numismatic evidence with these considerations in mind, we see that a very clear dividing line split the Troad between north and south. In the northern half of the region, Abydos and Lampsakos on the Dardanelles and Tenedos off the western coast of the Troad all chose to produce Lysimachi.[86] By contrast, Alexandreia Troas directly opposite Tenedos, Assos on the southern coast of the Troad, and Methymna and Mytilene on Lesbos instead all chose to mint Alexanders.[87]

In addition to these posthumous coinages of Abydos, Lampsakos, and Tenedos which are straightforward to identify, there is also a series of Lysimachi whose reverse type features an owl in exergue and which was attributed to Ilion by Henri Seyrig and Alfred Bellinger (Figure 1.3).[88] If it can be shown that this identification is correct, then we have clear proof that Ilion, too, belonged to this group of cities in the northern Troad which participated in a commercial network centred on the Bosporos.

Ludwig Müller sensibly cautioned that owls are very common symbols on coins and so by themselves might not constitute strong grounds for attribution. However, it is now better understood than when Müller wrote that posthumous Lysimachi were only minted within a geographically circumscribed area and only by mid-ranking or large cities which had produced silver coinage before.[89] When these considerations are taken into account, Ilion becomes the most likely candidate for having minted these coins. Owls were closely associated with the cult of Athena Ilias, apparently even being permitted to reside in the eaves of her temple at Ilion, and appear

[86] I have completed die studies for Abydos and Lampsakos but not for Tenedos. Abydos: sixteen tetradrachms from four obverse dies, two drachms from two obverse dies. Lampsakos: eight tetradrachms from three obverse dies. The hoard evidence for all three series is summarized in Table 1.3 below.

[87] Price (1991) 234–5 (Alexandreia Troas), 236 (Assos), 243–4 (Methymna), 244–6 (Mytilene).

[88] Seyrig (1986) 211–13, Bellinger (1961) 22.

[89] Müller (1858) 88 suggests Sigeion (abandoned soon after *c*.300: see n. 63) and Imbros (an Athenian cleruchy in the Hellenistic period and, in any case, a mint which only ever produced bronze coinage). Bunbury (1869) 1–4 suggested Bisanthe on the northern coast of the Propontis (again, it only ever produced bronze coinage and owls are just one of several images used).

Figure 1.3. Silver tetradrachm with the types of Lysimachos, Ilion, *c.*175–150, from the 'Demetrius I' hoard. *CH* 10.301, no. 118, buried *c.*151/0. Courtesy C. Marinescu.

somewhere on almost every series minted at Ilion.[90] An owl appears as a control mark on the city's Hellenistic bronze coinage, on the silver tetrobols minted in the late third or early second century, and on the coinage minted for the koinon of Athena Ilias. Owls were also used on the silver coinage minted for Antiochos Hierax to identify the mint as being Ilion and as a reverse type and a countermark for the city's bronze coinage minted during the reign of Augustus.[91] While owls do appear in this control mark role elsewhere in the Greek world,[92] they are very rare within the area minting posthumous Lysimachi and are by some margin most strongly associated with Ilion.[93]

We can therefore be confident that these posthumous Lysimachi were minted by Ilion, and the question now remaining is when to date them and thus the historical context to which they belong. Seyrig and Bellinger assumed that these coins dated to the last quarter of the third century and the period of autonomy which followed the end of Antiochos Hierax's rule over the Troad in 227.[94] However, this date is

[90] Ronniger (2009) 130.

[91] Antiochos Hierax: *SC* 1.864–8, 869.2, 871 with Bellinger (1961) 18–19 and Houghton and Lorber (2002) 1:306. Augustus: *RPC* 1.2308 (reverse type) and Howgego (1985) 170, no. 346 (countermark).

[92] Alexanders: Price 1320 (Black Sea), 1474, 1495 (Pergamon), 1963–5 (Magnesia on the Maeander); Seleukid: *SC* 1.1021.2, 1021.4, 1023.2–4 (Soli, Antiochos III); countermarks on Roman provincial coinage: Howgego (1985) 170–1, nos. 347 (Priene), 348 (Galatia), 349 (uncertain).

[93] The examples from within this region are (1) Price P21 (Abydos) and (2) an Augustan era coin tentatively attributed to Parion which may in fact belong to Ilion: Howgego (1985) 170 no. 345.

[94] Seyrig (1985) 211–13, Bellinger (1961) 22.

almost certainly far too early.[95] Three arguments suggest that a date in the second quarter of the second century (i.e. fifty years later) is much more likely: (1) comparison of the posthumous Lysimachi of Ilion with those of Abydos and Lampsakos suggests that all three series were contemporary with one another; (2) the evidence of die-cutter hands, as identified by Constantin Marinescu, points to a date in the second quarter of the second century for the Abydene and Lampsakene series; (3) the evidence of coin hoards provides independent verification of the first two arguments.

An example of the Ilian Lysimachi which I would place early in the series has now appeared in the so-called 'Demetrius I' hoard (commerce, 2003) which was buried in 151/0 (*CH* 10.301, no. 118: Figure 1.3 above). On its own, this does not necessarily guarantee a date in the 170s–150s for the Ilian Lysimachi, since such coins could remain in circulation for a long time. However, it is significant that the Abydene and Lampsakene Lysimachi which, as discussed, share a number of characteristics with the Ilian Lysiamchi and therefore probably belong in the same context, can be dated with some confidence to this period. In his study from 1996, Marinescu argued that the dies for the posthumous Lysimachi of Abydos and Lampsakos should be attributed to die cutters working in the so-called Bosporos Workshop who were active *c.*175–150.[96] At the time, this placed these two series twenty-five to fifty years earlier than was generally accepted. However, examples of both series have subsequently appeared in hoards which were buried in 162, 151/0, 150, and 143, thus independently supporting Marinescu's dating based on identifying the hands of different die cutters.

In support of the old high dating of these coins it could be argued that, although they appear in hoards from *c.*162–143, this does not rule out the possibility that they had been circulating for several decades before this. However, we can test this hypothesis and show that it does not work for the Abydene and Lampsakene Lysimachi (and, by extension, also for the Ilian Lysimachi) by contrasting these coinages with the Lysimachi of Tenedos. This is a series which

[95] It is also premised on a questionable conception of the relationship between political autonomy and civic minting practices, the assumption being both that cities could not mint their own coinage while under royal rule and that the first thing they would do once free would be to mint. Both assumptions have been shown to be unfounded: see e.g. Meadows (2001).

[96] Marinescu (1996) 364–5.

likewise appears in hoards dating *c.*162–143. However, unlike the other three series we have been looking at, Marinescu was led to suggest a date *c.*200–175 for the Tenedian Lysimachi based on identifying the die cutter, and examples have also appeared in hoards which were buried before the Peace of Apameia (above all the Mektepini hoard [*IGCH* 1410] buried *c.*190), therefore indicating that the Tenedian Lysimachi were minted in the 190s and circulated for several decades thereafter. If the Lysimachi of Abydos, Ilion, and Lampsakos had likewise been in circulation for a long period of time before appearing in mid-second century hoards and were actually minted in the 190s or earlier, then we would expect at least some to appear in one of the massive pre-188 hoards, as is the case for the Tenedian Lysimachi. Instead, in the cases of Abydos and Lampsakos there is a conspicuous gap in the hoard record for the 190s, whereas for Tenedos we have the evidence of three hoards from this earlier period. I have visually represented this gap in the hoard record in Table 1.3 by arranging the hoards chronologically so that a blank space opens up in the Abydos and Lampsakos columns where for Tenedos there are instead a number of hoards.

This lower dating for the Ilian, Abydene, and Lampsakene Lysimachi makes them directly contemporary with the Alexanders of Alexandreia Troas, Assos, Methymna, and Mytilene which likewise displayed the 'package' of characteristics typical of late civic posthumous coinages (e.g. broader flans with hammered edges, more prominent use of civic badges, the display of ethnics and sometimes even magistrate names). While cities throughout this region therefore simultaneously participated in numismatic fashions which were sweeping the eastern Mediterranean in the first half of the second century, their choice of types for these posthumous coinages reveal the very different regional economic networks to which the cities of the northern and southern Troad belonged. Based on this evidence, one could argue that the Troad was not a single region, but rather two discrete regional economies: a northern Troad organized around trade through the Dardanelles between the Aegean and the Black Sea, and a southern Troad organized around trade along the coast of western Asia Minor. Given the role which geography certainly played in orientating the cities along the Dardanelles towards the Bosporan commercial network, this was probably a pattern which existed not just in the mid-Hellenistic period when we happen to have good evidence for identifying it, but also in other periods.

Table 1.3. Evidence for the dating of the late posthumous Lysimachi of Abydos, Lampsakos, and Tenedos.

	Abydos	Lampsakos	Tenedos
My Proposed Date	170s–150s	170s–150s	190s
'Bosporos Workshop'	Engravers M and N *c.*175–150/*c.*160–150	Engraver M *c.*175–150	Engravers H and I *c.*200–175
Marinescu (1996) 363–5			
			IGCH 1766.6192 Buried: late third century[a]
			Seyrig, *Trésors* 7.11 Buried: *c.*190 *IGCH* 1410.221–6 Buried: *c.*190
Hoard Evidence	*CH* 8.433, no. 461 Buried: *c.*162		*CH* 8.433, nos. 462–3 Buried: *c.*162 *CH* 8.434, Pl. LVI.8 Buried: *c.*160 *IGCH* 1772 Buried: post-158[b]
	CH 10.301, nos. 130–4 Buried: 151/0 *CH* 9.530, no. 94	*CH* 10.301, nos. 123–6 Buried: 151/0	*IGCH* 1774.12 Buried: *c.*155–150[c] *CH* 9.530, no. 96[d]
	Buried: *c.*150 *CH* 10.308, no. C217 Buried: Aug./Oct. 143	Seyrig, *Trésors* 16.3 Buried: *c.*150-145	Buried: *c.*150 *CH* 10.308, no. A224[e] Buried: Aug./Oct. 143

a: The date of this hoard very likely needs to be revised downwards towards the 190s.
b: Date: Meadows and Houghton (2010) 180 n. 19.
c: The date is probably closer to 155 than 150: Meadows and Houghton (2010) 179 n. 13.
d: Boehringer (1975) 57 dates this coin *c.*190 (the same monogram appears on a fresh example from Seyrig, *Trésors* 7.11).
e: This coin has the same obverse die as *IGCH* 1410.225 (Mektepini) and must therefore date *c.*190.

1.4 ILION AND THE KOINON OF ATHENA ILIAS

The finding that the Troad encompassed two quite distinct regional economies allows us to view the koinon of Athena Ilias in a new light. The koinon, which included cities from both the northern and southern Troad, is often spoken about as if it were simply a cultic and institutional expression of a 'natural' regional unity that will express itself time and again throughout history (an idea not so distant from Strabo's own anti-historical vision of the Troad). For example, in some recent publications the koinon has been regularly referred to as the 'Troad koinon', even though the documents of the koinon are quite careful to refer to *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πόλεων* and never to *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τρωαδέων*.[97] Indeed, this makes good sense given that the koinon was apparently open to cities from well beyond the boundaries even of Strabo's Troad, such as Myrleia in the eastern Propontis and Kalchedon on the Bosporos who were members of the koinon in the late third century.[98] While the inclusion of these two cities makes very little sense if we imagine membership of the koinon to have been premised on being located within the Troad, it makes very good sense if we look to the evidence of the posthumous Lysimachi which clearly show that the cities of the northern Troad were heavily involved in a commercial network centred on the Bosporos.[99] Significantly, these are relationships which would have been of little or no interest to cities in the southern Troad, and thus illustrate how the political and economic interests of the koinon's members could diverge substantially from one another. We should therefore not be taking the unity of the koinon for granted, but rather asking how this unity was achieved and what the means were by which this unity was maintained for over four centuries.

As with the Troad's Homeric heritage, the koinon could serve to foster a sense of regional unity, but also to sharpen feelings of peer competition within that region. For example, at times of political crisis the koinon could provide a framework for collective action. In *c.*306 the koinon sent an embassy to the recently crowned King Antigonos Monophthalmos 'regarding the freedom and autonomy of the cities who share in the temple and the festival'.[100] Individual

[97] The 'Troad Koinon': see (e.g.) Rose (1995) 96, Rose (1997) 87, 88, 102, Rose (2000) 286, Wallrodt (2002) 181, Aylward and Wallrodt (2003) 103, Aylward (2005) 46, Rose (2006) 88, 90, Rose (2011) 283, Aslan and Rose (2013) 18, 23, 26. *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πόλεων*: *I. Ilion* 1.17, 22, 31, 36, 55, *SEG* 53.1373 line 48. See already Robert (1966) 32: 'Nous comprenons alors très bien que la Confédération n'ait jamais mis "la Troade" dans son titre; ce sont "les villes qui participant au culte", "les Iliens et les autres villes", etc. Il n'y avait point de limite territoriale; le culte d'Athéna Ilias formait le lien et la raison d'être'; cf. 37–8 for criticism of 'les modernes [qui] appelent "ilienne" ou "de Troade", ou "des villes de Troade" depuis que les inscriptions nous l'ont fait connaître.' Regionally and ethnically exclusive koina certainly existed, but are very easily identifiable as such by their institutions: see for example the Ionian koinon's decree regarding its festival at Klaros published and commented on in Müller and Prost (2013).

[98] *I. Ilion* 5.10 and 17, 6.9 (restored).

[99] Pillot (2016) 162.

[100] *I. Ilion* 1.24–6: *ὑ[πὲρ] τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ αὐτονομίας τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσ[ῶν τοῦ] ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως.*

cities of the Troad had already been keen to hold Antigonos to his promises of freedom and autonomy and were willing to pass extraordinary honours for him to secure this outcome, as we see in the cultic honours which Skepsis passed for Antigonos in 311 in response to his declaration of the freedom of the Greeks at a time when he had not even declared himself a king yet.[101] Given that, despite all this, Skepsis was included in the synoikism of Antigoneia Troas *c.*311–301 (and only released by the intervention of Lysimachos after *c.*301), they were evidently right to be suspicious.[102] Presumably, the embassy of *c.*306 reflects the continued uncertainty of the cities of the Troad regarding Antigonos' intentions and their willingness to try new tactics (in this case, collective action via the koinon) in an attempt to secure the desired outcome.[103] Another case of collective diplomatic action is the pair of statues the koinon set up in honour of Augustus in 25 BC which imply the subsequent dispatch of an embassy or letter to the emperor to inform him of the granting of these honours.[104] While at least one of these statues was paid for by a prominent Ilian citizen, Hipparchos son of Hegesidemos, he is careful to specify that he did so in his capacity as a *synedros* of the koinon, and both honorific decrees are passed by the koinon as a whole.

A slightly different case is the agreement which the members of the koinon negotiated with L. Julius Caesar in 77 BC to reduce the festival's cost. At the time, the cities of the Troad (and in particular Ilion, which had been sacked by Fimbria in 85) were suffering severe financial hardship as a result of the First Mithridatic War.[105] Significantly, rather

[101] *OGIS* 5–6.

[102] Boehm (2018) 1–2. It is not possible to date the synoikism of Antigoneia more precisely than this. For discussion of the numismatic evidence, which has sometimes been used to argue for *c.*304–302 specifically (e.g. Meadows [2004] 55, followed by Ellis-Evans [2017] 39 n. 46), see Esch (2016) 71–4.

[103] This embassy and another to Antigonos with an unspecified purpose (*I. Ilion* 1.8–9, shortly before 306) have often been taken as evidence that Antigonos set up the koinon of Athena Ilias (see most recently Pillot [2016] 146–7). However, this does not obviously follow: (1) the texts provide no explicit support for this interpretation; (2) Greeks were quite capable of setting up koina without royal help—citing koina that Antigonos did set up, e.g. the Nesiotic League, does not prove that he set *this* koinon up; (3) we do not need to posit Antigonos as the founder of the koinon to understand why the koinon would send embassies to him.

[104] *I. Ilion* 81–2.

[105] The destruction of Ilion is described in Liv. *Per*. 83, Julius Obsequens, *Liber de prodigiis* 56b (epitome of Livy's lost *De prodigiis*), Strabo 13.1.27, App. *Mithr*. 53, and

than viewing the Panathenaia festival as an unnecessary expense at a difficult time and doing away with it altogether, the members of the koinon instead sought to come to a mutually acceptable agreement on bringing down costs and dealing with their debts in order to keep the festival going.[106] Finally, Frisch drew attention to a heavily mutilated line in a decree of the koinon from *c*.300 which appears to read]ἐστράτευσε[.[107] He suggests that this may have been a provision for members of the koinon to provide military support to one another and speculates that this is what lay behind Alexandreia Troas dispatching four thousand troops to defend Ilion from marauding Galatians in 216.[108]

In the economic sphere, the panegyris market which was held at the festival (probably the largest of its kind held anywhere in the Troad in the calendar year) may have played a role in knitting together the regional economies of the northern and southern Troad. For the duration of the festival, which in the year of the Great Panathenaia could last up to fifteen days, thousands of festival attendees will have temporarily made the environs of Ilion their home.[109] As Christophe Chandezon has argued, panegyris markets not only met the basic needs of festival attendees, but also provided opportunities to do business with individuals from both within the region and well beyond it.[110] In particular, Chandezon has emphasized that because the annual markets held at festivals happened at a fixed time and place they were particularly well-suited to the buying and selling of high-value and long-lasting items (e.g. slaves, livestock,

Dio 30–35.104.7. The koinon refers to 'the afflictions of the cities' (*αἱ τῶν πόλεων θλίψεις*) in its agreement with L. Julius Caesar of 77 (*I. Ilion* 10.14–15). The rest of the agreement suggests that this was a debt crisis: Lefèvre and Pillot (2015) 12–15. Lower spending by the koinon on the Panathenaia and by Alexandreia Troas on the Smintheia appear to be reflected in the post-Mithridatic issues of the Athena Ilias and Apollo Smintheus coinages: Ellis-Evans (2016a) 149–51. Finally, several koinon members (Abydos, Assos, Alexandreia Troas, Parion) produced hastily overstruck large denomination bronze coinages at around this time. In the context of Ionia, such coinages have been linked to Sulla's indemnity and the debt crisis which subsequently enveloped the entire region, with cities demonetizing their coinage and then reissuing it as token coinage in order to make their payments: Kinns (1987) 110.

106 *I. Ilion* 10. 107 *I. Ilion* 18.7.

108 Frisch (1975) xiv and 55. Galatians in 216: Plb. 5.111.2–4.

109 Sixteen days: *SEG* 53.1373 lines 5–7 (end of dating formula): *Παναθηναίοις μ[ε]γάλοις, ἑκκαιδε[κάτ]ηι [τῆς] πανηγύρεως*. See Chandezon (2000) 96–8 for such markets typically being held outside the confines of the sanctuary for practical reasons.

110 Chandezon (2000) 93–4.

luxury items, and so on) which might not be regularly offered in local markets.[111] Given Ilion's strategic location just within the mouth of the Dardanelles at a crossroads between the Black Sea, Aegean Thrace, and western Asia Minor, the panegyris market would have been the ideal place for merchants belonging to cities of the northern and southern Troad, and thus plugged into very different commercial networks, to meet and do business. If, as at Athens, the Panathenaia was held in the first half of August, then the panegyris market will have been open during precisely the period when merchants who had sailed into the Black Sea region earlier in the year would have been returning to the Aegean with their goods while the currents and winds between the Bosporos and the Dardanelles still favoured the return journey.[112]

In addition to fostering regional unity through collective political action and shared economic interests, the koinon's institutions also encouraged member states to view one another as a group of peers to be competed against and bested. As the largest festival in the Troad, the Panathenaia provided a uniquely prestigious stage on which to perform euergetism before this regional peer group. This may have been a particularly important consideration for wealthy citizens from the koinon's smaller member states whose benefactions would not receive anything like the same publicity (and, indeed, rewards) as was available when the same acts were performed for the koinon. For example, Malousios of Gargara loaned 5,250 gold staters (= 17.5 T of silver) to the koinon *c.*306 and in return was publicly honoured at the Panathenaia, feted by the individual member states of the koinon in honorific decrees, and exempted from taxes on whatever he bought and sold at the panegyris market. In the case of elected magistrates who performed benefactions (the *agoranomoi* and *gymnasiarchoi*, but not the *agonothetai* and *synedroi*), the koinon praised not only the individual benefactor but also the city which had had the good sense to elect him to this position.[113] In this way, the actions of individual

[111] Chandezon (2000) 76–7, 93–4.

[112] For sailing conditions in this region see Russell (2017) 25–36.

[113] See e.g. *SEG* 53.1373 lines 24–7: *διὸ καὶ καλῶς ἔχ[ο]ν ἐστὶν τὸν |[δῆμ]ον τὸν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐπαινεθῆν[αι ὑ]πὸ τῶν πόλε|[ων τ]ῶγ κοινωνουσῶ[ν] τῆς πανηγύρεως [ἐ]πὶ τῶι ἐξαπος|[τεῖλα]ι ἄνδρα ἄξιον τῆς [ἀ]ρχῆς* ('for which reasons it is right that the demos of the Lampsakenoi be praised by the cities which participate in the panegyris for dispatching a man who was worthy of the office').

benefactors also raised the reputation of their city as a whole within the peer group of koinon members.

In the context of these rivalries over prestige within the koinon, Ilion and its citizens were at a distinct advantage. Like other religious koina, the koinon was organized on an equitable basis whereby every member state had the same constitutional status.[114] As such, Ilion provided two *synedroi* for the *synedrion* and, when called upon, elected *agoranomoi* and *gymnasiarchoi* just like every other participating city. While an Ilian was always the president of the board of *agonothetai*, he was still just one individual on a board made up of citizens from four other cities, much as the Ilian *synedroi* were just two individuals on a body with thirty or so representatives drawn from all the cities of the koinon.[115] There is therefore no foundation for the view found in some recent scholarship that the koinon was a state-like entity through which Ilion politically dominated the Troad.[116] Nevertheless, Ilion clearly did gain prestige within the koinon from being home to the sanctuary of Athena Ilias, and the city and its elites were often able to convert this cultural capital into various forms of economic and political capital.

The forms of economic capital which accrued to Ilion have already been discussed in some detail. Firstly, the creation of the koinon created a situation in which, for example, it could seem advantageous to a man such as Malousios of Gargara to build Ilion a theatre. Secondly, by playing host to the Panathenaia festival Ilion also got to be the venue for its panegyris market. Even though the revenues from taxes on goods bought and sold at the market went to the koinon and not Ilion, the city as a whole would nevertheless have benefitted from playing host to this major economic event.[117] The political capital which accrued to Ilion and its citizens took a number of forms. For example, while the Ilian president of the board of *agonothetai* appears to have had no scope within this role to perform

[114] Knoepfler (2010) 38; cf. Lefèvre and Pillot (2015) 2 n. 4 and 8 n. 5 noting the various parallels with the Delphic Amphiktyony.

[115] Knoepfler (2010) 36–8. The small size of the *synedrion* is a strong argument against the view of the excavators (Rose [1992] 49, 52, Rose [2000] 286, Rose [2014] 163, 175–6, 217–18) that the recently identified *bouleuterion* is that of the koinon—it is surely just that of Ilion itself.

[116] See nn. 102 and 119 above and also the remarks of Hasaki (1999) 226 and Aylward (2005) 46 which misconstrue as tribute payments the debts recorded in *I. Ilion* 5, 6, and 9 and the requirement to provide *synedreia*.

[117] See n. 62 above.

benefactions and thus receive honours, he did receive much more publicity for performing this role than the other *agonothetai* did. For example, he was named first (and sometimes named alone) in the dating formula of the koinon's decrees and he also appeared on the reverse of the koinon's coinage, at first just identified with his own name, but from the late second/early first century onwards also with his patronymic so as to identify him more clearly.[118] From the first century we also have three examples of the koinon granting honorific statues to girls who had served as *kanephoroi* at the Panathenaia.[119] It seems that only the daughters of Ilian citizens or of individuals who could demonstrate Ilian ancestry were allowed to perform this role.[120] It would therefore appear that the honours for the *kanephoroi* are another example of elite Ilian citizens having access to opportunities for self-promotion and aggrandizement at the Panathenaia which were not open to their counterparts from other member states. On at least two occasions we see the city as a whole leveraging its privileged status for political gain. An honorific decree passed by the city of Ilion *c.*300 calls for the honorands and their descendants to be summoned by name and patronymic to the front seats at the Panathenaia, thus granting far greater publicity to these honorands than Ilion could have ordinarily offered them.[121] Again, either a few decades or a century later an honorific decree for a King Antiochos (either I or III) was voted by the city but the honours were nevertheless to be announced by Ilion's *agonothetes* and two *synedroi* at the athletic games of the Panathenaia.[122]

In many ways, the coinage of Athena Ilias (Figure 1.4) symbolizes the tension which existed between the nominal equality of the member states and the reality of Ilion's *primus inter pares* status. As I have argued elsewhere, the coinage of Athena Ilias needs to be understood

[118] Named first: *I. Ilion* 5.1–2, 7.1–2, 10.6–7, *SEG* 53.1373 lines 1–2. Named alone: *I. Ilion* 3.8–10, 10.2–3. For the identity of the individual named on the reverse see now Ellis-Evans (2016a) 137–8 and 145–6, and 124–5 for the introduction of the patronymic from Diopeithes son of Zenis (*c.*100?) onwards.

[119] *I. Ilion* 15–17.

[120] In *I. Ilion* 16–17 it is the girl's ethnic which is mentioned (e.g. *Πύθαν Σκαμανδροτίμου Ἰλιάδα*), whereas in 15.3–4 the formulation is more indirect: *Μελίτειαν, θυγατέρα Ἀπελλείους τοῦ Λυσανίου Ἰλιέως*. Robert (1966) 31–2 noted that members of this family were also Dardanian citizens, hence (perhaps) the special pleading needed to establish Meliteia's Ilian ancestry.

[121] *I. Ilion* 24.17–19. [122] *I. Ilion* 32.38–41.

Figure 1.4. Silver tetradrachm in the name of Athena Ilias, koinon of Athena Ilias, 140s BC? ANS 1945.33.5.
Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

at least in part as a status symbol.[123] The koinon had done without having its own coinage in the third century and would do so again from the second half of the first century BC onwards, so a purely economic explanation for the decision to produce this coinage is insufficient. A variety of new pieces of evidence suggest that the koinon began to produce this coinage not in the mid-160s as was previously thought, but rather in the late 180s or early 170s.[124] This new date makes it one of the earliest examples of a fashion which would sweep the Greek world in the middle decades of the second century—civic coinages minted on broad, thin flans displaying virtuoso portraits of a local deity on the obverse and distinctively local cults on the reverse.[125] Just as great care was taken over the engraving of artistically excellent dies for these coins, so too great care was taken in the production of the coins themselves, for example discarding dies long before they were worn out and hammering the edges of the coin after striking.[126] These aspects of the coinage suggest that it also functioned as a status symbol indicating the prestige and prosperity of the festival and was thus, in theory, a source of pride for all the members of the koinon. In practice, however, to a casual user the message that one would get was that Ilion possessed a terribly prestigious sanctuary: after all, it was images of Ilion's principal deity which appeared on the obverse and reverse and the name of an Ilian *agonothetes* which appeared on the reverse. It is therefore significant that at least two other member states, Alexandreia Troas and Parion

[123] Ellis-Evans (2016a) 146–9.
[124] Ellis-Evans (2016a) 127–30.
[125] Thonemann (2015) 56–64, Ellis-Evans (2016a) 147–8, Meadows (2018).
[126] Ellis-Evans (2016a) 145, 147.

(Figure 1.5.a–b), likewise produced coinages in the name of their own principal deity with designs which clearly took their inspiration from the Athena Ilias coinage: within the koinon, therefore, these coins were viewed as a status symbol to be emulated and appropriated, and thus as another venue for intra-regional rivalry.[127]

These rivalries over status and prestige within the koinon suggest a further possible context for the attempts by writers such as Demetrios of Skepsis and Hestiaia and Hegesianax of Alexandreia Troas to denigrate the size and wealth of the city of Ilion, cast doubt on its links to the *Iliad*, and, in the case of Demetrios, trumpet his own city's superior claim to the Homeric legacy. We therefore need to view the members of the koinon as having been bound together as much by feelings of (relatively) friendly rivalry as by a sense of regional unity and common purpose. Finally, while the institutions of the koinon in general encouraged cooperation and consensus building among its

Figure 1.5. (a) Silver tetradrachm in the name of Apollo Smintheus, Alexandreia Troas, 148 BC. ANS 1967.152.420. (b) Silver tetradrachm in the name of Apollo Aktaios, Parion, late 160s/150s BC. ANS 1991.99.1.

Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

[127] Ellis-Evans (2016a) 148–9, Ellis-Evans (2020).

members and provided a highly regulated forum for indulging in intra-koinon rivalries, this was of course not necessarily how the politics of the Troad worked outside the context of the koinon. In particular, throughout the third and second century Ilion gradually expanded its territory and grew its population by swallowing up smaller cities. While some of these acquisitions happened by mutual agreement (e.g. Kokkylion, Skamandreia), others occurred through royal or Roman intervention and therefore may not have been consensual.[128] Rhoiteion may be one such case, a city handed over to Ilion at the Peace of Apameia which a decree of the koinon now shows to have been an active member of the koinon as recently as the late third century.[129] Whatever solidarity Ilion felt towards other members of the koinon in this case apparently did not prevent it from lobbying Rome to hand over a neighbouring town with strategically valuable port facilities when the opportunity arose.[130]

1.5 CONCLUSIONS

Ilion possessed a multiplicity of regional identities which cumulatively produced its regional personality. As we have seen, it makes little sense to try and understand any one of these regional identities in isolation from the others. For example, Ilion's position at the heart of a symbolic network of Homeric associations made it the natural home for the koinon of Athena Ilias. This regional recognition of Ilion as the site of Troy gave the city an advantage in its diplomatic interactions with the great powers of the Hellenistic period, but could also excite the jealousy of other cities in the Troad, and thus fuelled friendly (and sometimes not so friendly) intra-regional rivalries. Equally, it should be noted that the economic benefit which Ilion derived from hosting the Panathenaia was as much a result of how it intensified the city's pre-existing role in a trading network centred on the Bosporos as it was a result of the prestige of the festival. A history

[128] See n. 63. [129] *SEG* 53.1373 lines 3–4 with Ma (2007) 55.

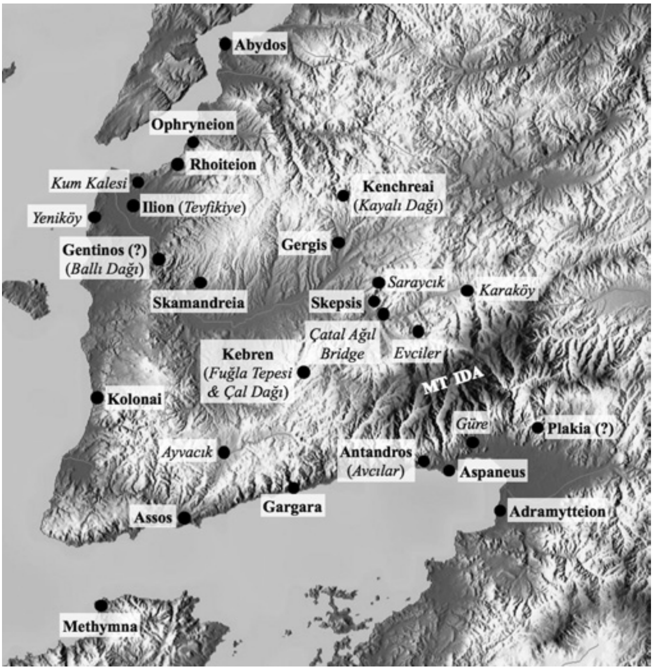
[130] Port facilities of Rhoiteion: Cook (1973) 87. For the wider context of cities in the Troad, especially around the time of the Peace of Apameia, making the most of their mythological heritage to negotiate with Rome, see Gruen (1990) 5–33, Gruen (1993) 6–51, and Erskine (2001) chs 7–9.

of Hellenistic Ilion which focuses only on how it elicited ever greater benefactions from Hellenistic kings and Roman statesmen thus misses the importance of these regional dynamics in shaping the priorities of Ilion, providing opportunities for the city to better itself, and explaining the behaviour of its neighbours within the Troad.

The other cities of the Troad no doubt had their own histories of regional distinctiveness, and where the evidence is good enough (e.g. Alexandreia Troas, Assos, and Lampsakos) it is probably even possible to write them. However, while it is of course valuable to identify what is distinctive about each city's regional personality, we should be wary of falling into the trap of playing up the differences—for example, the focus of the northern Troad cities on trade with the Bosporos which was not shared by cities of the southern Troad—at the expense of the important commonalities which continually brought the cities of this region into contact with one another and encouraged them to think of one another as peers—for example, the pervasive legacy of Homer and the koinon of Athena Ilias. It is the preponderance of these regional commonalities over the individual differences of the cities which makes it more valuable to study the area of Lesbos, the Troad, and neighbouring parts of Aiolis and Mysia as a single region rather than as four (or many more) different regions.

2

The Forests of Mt Ida



Map 2.1. Routes through the Troad.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter looked at a number of factors which promoted integration among the cities of the Troad and thus contributed to the region's overall coherence in antiquity. While physical geography was one of the factors discussed there (for example, the sailing conditions around the Dardanelles which encouraged Ilion to participate in a commercial network centred on the Bosporos), I was primarily focused on factors belonging to the sphere of human geography—the projection of Homeric myth onto the landscape of the Troad, the forging of commercial relationships between cities plugged into much larger networks of Mediterranean exchange, and the creation of festivals through which social and political networks were fostered. This chapter redresses the balance by considering to what extent aspects of the physical geography of the Troad could likewise facilitate the integration of this region into a coherent whole.

At first glance, the idea that the Troad's geography promoted regional integration seems counterintuitive since it is such a heterogeneous and fragmented geographical region. The Troad is located within a zone of transition between two biomes (large-scale ecological areas whose flora and fauna have adapted to a shared set of environmental conditions): the warm Mediterranean climate typical of the Aegean and the temperate continental climate typical of the Balkans. This produces a landscape in which relatively minor differences in physical geography can have a significant impact on whether a particular ecological niche fosters a habitat typical of the Mediterranean biome or the kind of Euro-Siberian biome characteristic of, for example, the Black Sea coast. These contrasts are at their starkest on Mt Ida, whose east–west axis exposes the mountain's northern slopes to the cooler and damper climate regime to the north while simultaneously sheltering the southern slopes and thus intensifying its experience of the hot, dry Mediterranean climate. As a result, whereas black pine (typical of a Euro-Siberian biome) starts to appear at 270 m above sea level on the north-eastern part of the mountain and at 400 m elsewhere on the northern slopes, on the southern slopes it first appears only at 700–750 m.[1]

[1] Ozgiyit et al. (2015) 346.

This ecological heterogeneity is further complicated by the various obstacles to movement thrown up by the region's physical geography. Landward approaches to the Troad involve navigating a handful of routes over either Mt Ida to the south or the deeply forested extension of the Ida range into Mysia to the east. Maritime travel along the southern, western, and northern coasts must often contend with adverse winds, above all the Etesians in the summer months, and this combined with a strong current flowing out of the Black Sea makes navigating the Dardanelles especially challenging. Finally, whereas the Hermos, Kaystros, Maeander, and Xanthos valleys further south in western Asia Minor all serve to canalize movement in their respective regions, the Scamander does not have a similar effect on the Troad since in its undammed state it is an unmanageable torrent for much of the winter and spring, too low to be navigable for most of the summer and autumn, and must traverse a narrow and twisting gorge to reach the Trojan Plain.

The geography of the Troad does not therefore appear to be an obvious natural region in the way that places elsewhere in Turkey such as the Bosporos, the Maeander valley, or the Cilician plain very obviously do. However, one of the implications of Horden and Purcell's view of the Mediterranean economy in the *Corrupting Sea* (2000) is that geographical heterogeneity can in fact be a driver of regional integration. Rather than beginning from Finley's premise that Mediterranean communities prized economic self-reliance over all else, Horden and Purcell have instead argued that interdependence and resource complementarity have been fundamental to the premodern Mediterranean economy. Microregions which could not survive if isolated from the world around them can in fact prosper by using the resources which they are rich in to trade for the resources which they lack. Other things being equal, therefore, environments which differ from one another should in fact have *more* reason to interact with each other, not less.[2] Viewed from this perspective, the environmental heterogeneity of the Troad makes it a region which is potentially rich in valuable opportunities for exchange between different microregions. This in turn alters the calculus regarding the various obstacles to travel which exist in and around the Troad. While these obstacles are certainly there, the cost of overcoming them can be

[2] This is, for example, one of the important arguments to come out of Archibald (2013) on the northern Aegean as a region (see esp. ch. 5).

outweighed by the rewards available for doing so (e.g. access to new resources, products, and markets).

This chapter explores the relationship between the forests of Mt Ida and the lowland cities of the Troad as an example of just such a dynamic. These two zones differ from one another in terms of physical geography, biome, resources, human use, and habitation. However, despite this (or rather because of it) they have often been highly dependent upon one another in order to prosper, with the resources of the forests finding a market in the lowland cities and the lowland cities depending on the resources of the forests for vital industries (e.g. shipbuilding and construction). This reality of significant integration can, however, end up being obscured by the fact that the inhabitants of regions such as this, whether they are pursuing sedentary agriculture or working in the forests, often conceptualize mountains as barriers to movement and as marginal spaces hostile to human habitation. The ideological 'work' which these spaces do in the imaginations of the region's inhabitants can therefore obscure the *actual* work which was being done in the forests of Mt Ida. Writing the social and economic history of Mt Ida's forests therefore requires us to pay just as much attention to how these forests were imagined as to how they were actually used.

The history of forests, especially in antiquity, is often hampered by a lack of good evidence. However, in the case of Mt Ida we are fortunate to have access to two important sources of information: the oral traditions and religious practices of the mountain's current inhabitants, the Tahtacı Turkmen, who have lived and worked in these forests since the early 1450s, and the eye-witness testimony of Theophrastos, a native of Eresos in south-western Lesbos, who did extensive research on Mt Ida for his *Enquiry into Plants* in the mid-fourth century BC. The Tahtacı Turkmen celebrate an annual festival on the mountain top in honour of the Muslim saint Sarıkız and a number of revealing folklore tales are attached to this figure. Precisely because this evidence documents a relationship between Mt Ida and its inhabitants in the very different historical context of Ottoman and Republican Turkey, it has the advantage of illuminating that relationship with the kind of ephemeral evidence we usually lack from antiquity (e.g. makeshift monuments, perishable dedications, and oral traditions). The Tahtacı Turkmen's relationship with Mt Ida not only helps us ask better questions of the ancient evidence, but also serves as a point of contrast and comparison with the picture of

Mt Ida's forests which we get from Theophrastos and which will be explored in the rest of the chapter.

2.2 THE SAINT AND THE SHEPHERD

The summit of Mt Ida, today known as Kaz Dağları ('Goose Mountain'), consists of a level, rocky plateau punctuated by three peaks: Karataş Tepesi ('Black Rock Peak', 1774 m), Baba Tepesi ('Father Peak', 1765 m), and Sarıkız Tepesi ('Yellow-Girl'/'Blonde-Maiden Peak', 1726 m). At the top of Sarıkız Tepesi stands a large, open enclosure carefully constructed from broad, flat stones and surmounted with a pole which flies the Turkish flag year-round. A sign at the entrance to the enclosure announces that this is the Sarıkız Türbesi, 'The Tomb of Sarıkız', a local Muslim saint who has long been venerated by the Tahtacı Turkmen who today inhabit many of the villages in the mountain's southern foothills. Every year in the third week of August a festival is held for ten days in honour of Sarıkız. Today this is a fairly local affair, but prior to 1850, when, as part of the Tanzimat reforms, the region's Turkmen were settled in villages and a stop put to their nomadic way of life, it would have drawn in Turkmen from across the region as part of their seasonal migrations.[3] One of the highlights of this festival is a pilgrimage to the Tomb of Sarıkız where the festival-goers make vows by tying *yazmalar*, the colourful embroidered cotton scarves traditionally worn by Turkmen women, to the loose stones of the enclosure. By the festival's end, the enclosure has become a riot of colour, with the walls swathed and the flagpole swaddled in scarves of every hue.[4]

The stories of how Sarıkız became a saint are rich in incidental details which illustrate the important role which Mt Ida has habitually played in both the economy of the region and the imagination of its inhabitants. As a result, while these folkloric traditions were produced in an historical context far removed from that of the ancient world, analysing them can nevertheless help us to formulate the right questions when trying to write the history of Mt Ida's forests in antiquity.[5]

[3] Duymaz (2001) 89, Efe et al. (2014) 48.

[4] Duymaz (2001) 97–100.

[5] While the many different versions of the Sarıkız myth share the same general structure, they often differ substantially on the details: see Duymaz (2001), esp. 90–3.

Sarıkız was the daughter of a shepherd, Cılbak Baba ('Destitute Father'), who, after his wife had died, moved from Ayvacık at the western end of Mt Ida to the village of Kavurmacılar near Güre in the mountain's southern foothills. Winters were spent in Kavurmacılar and summers shepherding the sheep of a rich man from Güre up on the mountain pastures. So that he could keep his daughter with him, he gave Sarıkız twelve geese to pasture on Mt Ida. When one summer these geese flew off and ruined the crops down in the Bayramiç ovası (the middle Scamander valley), Sarıkız miraculously collected enough large rocks in the folds of her dress to create a one-kilometre-long enclosure in which to keep her geese (the so-called 'Kaz Avlusu') which, according to local tradition, is how the mountain came to be known as Kaz Dağları ('Goose Mountain'). This and a number of other miraculous incidents, for example snakes which wrapped themselves round one ram's horn and then another's to indicate when to go up to and come down from the high pastures, snow that could be transported all the way to Istanbul without melting, and Cılbak Baba's ability to summon delicate clouds to shield his flocks from the elements rather than constructing physical shelters, all presage the role of the divine in the story's final act.

Cılbak Baba goes on Hajj and leaves Sarıkız in the care of an imam in Güre. While he is gone, all the young men of the village attempt to win Sarıkız's hand in marriage. However, she refuses them all and thus incites their jealous hatred. The young men begin to spread slanderous rumours about her sexual improprieties, and before long she is being pelted with rotten eggs whenever she goes out in public (this is given as one interpretation of her name, translating *sarı kız* as 'yellow girl' rather than 'blonde maiden'). When her father returns from Mecca he is socially ostracized by the inhabitants of Güre and, believing the rumours about his daughter, secretly decides to lead her to the top of the mountain and leave her to die up there. When they reach the peak now known as Sarıkız Tepesi he asks his daughter for water in order to perform his ablutions before praying. In an instant she hands him the water, but it is salty—it transpires that, in her eagerness to please her father and be a dutiful daughter, she has used

In putting together this narrative I have therefore primarily drawn on traditions which show clear engagement with the local landscape (i.e. Duymaz variants 2, 3, and 6) and fleshed these out with details gathered from a visit in July 2017 to the Tahtakuşlar Etnografya Müzesi run by Aliber Kudar.

her miraculous powers to fetch water from the Aegean by stretching her hand right over the mountain in order to scoop up a handful of seawater. Realizing that his daughter is touched by the divine and pure-hearted, and unable to live with the thought that he ever believed the rumours about her and was willing to kill her for it, he apologizes to Sarıkız and wanders off to the peak now called Baba Tepesi ('Father Peak'). At that moment, a black cloud descends on the mountain. When it lifts, nearby shepherds find father and daughter dead on their respective peaks and so inter them in makeshift mausoleums where they now lie.

The tale of Sarıkız leaves us with the paradoxical impression of Mt Ida as an upland island both intimately connected with and profoundly isolated from the lowland world around it. The rich man of Güre whose flock Cılbak Baba tends in the summer exemplifies how the wealth of communities in Ida's foothills could be dependent on resources a thousand metres above them. In turn, the conflict which Sarıkız's marauding geese create between the farmers of the Bayramiç ovası and the shepherds of Kaz Dağları nods to the flipside of this relationship—the tensions which often arise when the spheres of sedentary agriculture and pastoralism infringe upon one another. The miraculous conveyance of snow from Ida to Istanbul alludes in exaggerated form to the widespread practice, studied at monograph length by Xavier de Planhol, of lowland communities using ice and snow from neighbouring mountains for refrigeration.[6] As we shall see later, the fantastical image of Sarıkız stretching her arm over the mountain to reach the Aegean is an apt and striking metaphor for the very real role which maritime trade networks played in bringing the resources of the forests of Mt Ida into easy reach of the rest of the Mediterranean world. Indeed, it is worth remembering that the Tahtacı Turkmen, whose tale this ultimately is, were brought to this region from the Taurus Mountains above the Cilician plain in the early 1450s by Mehmed the Conqueror in order to cut down timber with which to build the fleet that would go on to capture Lesbos and Constantinople (indeed, 'Tahtacı' is a nickname meaning 'woodworker').[7] And of course before 1850, when the Turkmen still lived a semi-nomadic life, the Sarıkız festival itself would have been a clear illustration of how the uplands of Mt Ida were plugged into a much

[6] De Planhol (1995).
[7] Cook (1973) 379–80, Duymaz (2001) 89, Korfmann (2004) 431.

larger network of social and economic connections which stretched right across this region. So, far from Mt Ida acting as a barrier to communication within the Troad, it rather emerges from the story of Sarıkız and the festival held in her honour as a central node of connectivity in this corner of Anatolia.

However, it is also very obviously the case that the tale of Sarıkız imagines Mt Ida to be an isolated and marginal space. The fact that Cılbak Baba and Sarıkız spend their winters down at Kavurmacılar and that Cılbak Baba's plan to kill Sarıkız is simply to leave her on the mountain's summit reminds us how hostile this place can be to human life. The summit of Mt Ida functions as a place of exile from human society (for which the village of Güre here stands), a place of miraculous and strange occurrences for Cılbak Baba, and ultimately a place of apotheosis for Sarıkız. Indeed, Sarıkız's flock of geese are also significant in this regard, since in Turkmen culture geese have a range of divine associations on account of the belief that, as the highest-flying bird species, they are the only animals capable of communication with god.[8] Finally, when Cılbak Baba miraculously brings snow from Ida to Istanbul, the response of his brother, Mesci Baba, is to admonish him: 'My father's son, mountain tops are no place for saintliness, pull yourself together!' (*Babamoğlu, dağ başında evliyalık olmaz, topla kendini!*). The miracle frightens Mesci, and he associates his brother's worrying ability to perform it with spending too much time in a place unsuited to and unsuitable for human life. We are therefore faced with the paradox that the very people who were best placed to know that Mt Ida was not an isolated and marginal space, the Tahtacı Turkmen who lived and worked in its forests and pastures and celebrated the Sarıkız festival, were also the ones who spun tales presenting it as being exactly that.

The particular value of the tale of Sarıkız lies in the fact that it can be brought alive through access to the kind of ephemeral evidence we typically lack from antiquity. As a result, we can produce a richly textured account of the myth and its relationship to the lived realities of the Tahtacı Turkmen which allows us to think through the problems of writing the history of forests in general and of Mt Ida's forests in particular. For example, the Tomb of Sarıkız is a fairly non-descript edifice made of unworked stone and decorated with perishable

[8] Efe et al. (2014) 49–51.

textiles—if it could be identified at all by archaeologists in five hundred or a thousand years' time, its function (sheep enclosure, guard post, or mountain-top sanctuary?) would be difficult to determine. Likewise, while dealing with folkloric tales is not straightforward, we can at least talk to the Tahtacı Turkmen, recover their oral traditions, and piece together the version of the tale that speaks to the lived experiences of the region's inhabitants. By contrast, in antiquity our access to the thought world of primary producers is usually mediated by members of the literate urban elite, whose knowledge of the productive landscape was often second-hand and whose interest in it reflected their own concerns about class, status, and culture.[9] In the case of Mt Ida, we are fortunate to have the evidence of Theophrastos, which helps to circumvent these problems to some extent, and whose account of life in the forests of Mt Ida in the mid-fourth century BC can therefore be usefully counter-pointed against the more recent evidence which has been discussed in this section. However, in order to properly appreciate the contribution which the evidence of Theophrastos makes, we must first consider what image of Mt Ida's forest we would be left with without his testimony.

2.3 THE FORESTS OF MT IDA IMAGINED

Perhaps the most extended meditation on the forests of Mt Ida as a wild and dangerous place is Catullus Poem 63. Although written by a Roman poet in the first century BC, in several key respects the poem appears to replicate the world-view of a Greek polis.[10] Ida is portrayed as the kingdom of the goddess Cybele, clad in deep and shadowy

[9] See (e.g.) Jameson (1989).

[10] Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1924) 2:291–5 argued that the whole poem was a translation of a lost original by Kallimachos. At the other extreme, Wiseman (1984) has argued that it was an original composition for the Roman Megalensia. It is now generally agreed that Catullus drew on Greek models for his poem and that Wiseman's view is untenable: see (e.g.) Bremmer (2005) 58–9. Crucially, Dale (2007) has now established that Kallimachos fr. 761 Pf. (*Γάλλαι μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες / αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα*) is indeed in Galliambics and that authorship by Kallimachos is certain. This strengthens the argument that Catullus was working with Hellenistic Greek originals (although probably not slavishly imitating them as Wilamowitz thought).

forests, full of wild beasts which obey Cybele's command, its freezing heights hostile to human habitation.[11] An innovation by Catullus, or perhaps the lost Hellenistic models on which he drew, is that Attis is made to reach Ida from across the sea, rather than being portrayed as a native Anatolian from Lydia or Phrygia—he therefore arrives at Ida from the heart of the Greek world, not its margins.[12] Moreover, the society from which he comes is quite clearly a Greek polis, with Attis lamenting: *abero foro, palaestra, stadio et gymnasiis . . . ego gymnasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei* ('I will be absent from the agora, the wrestling-ground, the race-course, and the gymnasia . . . I was once the flower of the gymnasium, I used to be the glory of the wrestling-ground').[13] The civilizing influence of the polis on human nature is portrayed as being brought up short at the boundary of Cybele's kingdom: once Attis has entered the forests, he is quickly overcome by uncontrollable emotions which lead him to transgress all societal norms by castrating himself.[14] Many aspects of this portrayal of the environment of Mt Ida also feature in the *Iliad* and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and were therefore already current in the eighth and seventh century. For example, the only inhabitants of Mt Ida we ever encounter in these poems are solitary pastoralists tending their livestock, and the mountain is otherwise portrayed as being a μήτηρ θηρῶν ('mother of beasts'). Likewise, it is revealing of how Greeks conceptualized this space that it is so often imagined to be the location of divine epiphanies, for example those of Anchises and Ganymede.[15]

[11] Kingdom of Cybele: Cat. 63.3 (*opaca silvis redimita loca deae*), 76–89 (Attis flees to the shore to escape its bounds). Deep and shadowy forests: Cat. 63.3 (*opaca silvis redimita*), 30, 70 (*viridis Ida*), 32, 52 (*opaca nemora*; *Idae nemora*), 89 (*nemora fera*). Full of wild beasts: Cat. 63.52–4 (*famuli solent, ad Idae tetuli nemora pedem, / ut aput niuem et ferarum gelida stabula forem, / et earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula*), 72 (*cerva silvicultrix*; *aper nemorivagus*), 76–89 (Cybele releases her lions to chase Attis), cf. 13 (Galli portrayed as *Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora*). Hostile to human habitation: Cat. 63.52–4 (see *infra*), 70 (*viridis algida Idae nive amicta loca*).

[12] Cat. 63.1, 15–16 with Harrison (2005) 11–12.

[13] Cat. 63.60, 64. Noted in particular by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1924) 2:291–5; see also Bremmer (2005) 58–9.

[14] Cat. 63.1–5: *super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria / Phrygium ut nemus citato cupide pede tetigit / adiitque opaca silvis redimita loca deae, / stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis / devolvit ili acuto sibi pondera silice.*

[15] Wathelet (1988) 1:160–7 (Anchises), 1:375–84 (Ganymede). See too the lonely upbringing of Aisakos: *oderat hic urbes nitidaque remotus ab aula / secretos montes et inambitiosa colebat / rura nec Iliacos coetus nisi rarus adibat* (Ov. *Met.* 11.764–6).

The cult of Cybele to which Attis dedicates himself in Poem 63 was an important part of the religious life of the Troad and was often tied to Mt Ida specifically. When the Phrygian cult of *matar kubileya* ('Mother of Mt Kubela') was introduced into the Greek world in the seventh century, one of its manifestations was as Mater Idaia, and this reached Rome via nearby Pergamon as *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* in 204 BC.[16] Cybele has been tentatively identified as one of the deities worshipped at the West Sanctuary at Ilion and, in addition to there, terracotta figurines of Cybele have also turned up at a site in the Trojan Plain, at Abydos on the Dardanelles, and at Kolonai on the western coast of the Troad.[17] In the area of Ida itself, terracotta figurines of Cybele tentatively dated to the Hellenistic period have been recovered at Fuğla Tepesi near the site of Kebren on the northern slopes of Ida and at Gergis on the northern side of the middle Scamander valley.[18] A relief depicting Cybele has been found at an extra-urban sanctuary below Çal Dağı, the site of Kebren, and Cook has speculated that this might have been where the city's festival of Cybele took place.[19] Further extra-urban sanctuaries have been identified at Kayalı Dağı, a peak overlooking the main overland route between the middle Scamander valley and the Dardanelles, and at a site in the territory of Skepsis a mile south-east of the village of Evciler which marks one end of the route across Ida from the southern coast of the Troad (this site has apparently produced hundreds of terracotta Cybele figurines).[20]

Moving from the central to the southern Troad, in the fourth century the small city of Plakia, located on Ida's southern slopes and overlooking the plain around Adramytteion, produced bronze coinage with a bust of Cybele in a mural crown as the obverse type and Cybele's companion, a lion, devouring its prey as the reverse type

[16] Bremmer (2005) 42 (Phrygian, Greek), 48–50 (Roman). On the introduction of Magna Mater to Rome see *MRR* 1:304 s.v. M. Valerius Falto for a summary of the ancient evidence and Gruen (1990) 5–33, Gruen (1993) 47–8, and Erskine (2001) 198–224 for analysis.

[17] Ilion: Rose (2014) 200–1. Other sites: Cook (1973) 57 n. 1, 116–17, 217.

[18] Cook (1973) 332–3, 348 with Plate 63d.

[19] Cook (1973) 313–14 with Plate 54b. This hypothesis is in turn dependent on restoring a reference to this festival in the fragmentary inscription *I. Assos* 4.13 (third century BC): [? *ἐν τοῖς Κυβελ*]*είοισι ἐγ Κεβρῆνι* ('[? at the Kybel]eia at Kebren').

[20] Cook (1973) 287 with Plate 46a and 298 with Plate 53a–b.

(Figure 2.1.a).[21] In the second/first century, Gargara at the western end of Mt Ida likewise minted bronzes with Cybele and a lion as the types (Figure 2.1.b).[22] Finally, Gentinos, an obscure town probably located somewhere in the forested uplands between the Trojan Plain and the middle Scamander valley, also depicted Cybele on its coins alongside its civic badge of a bee in the fourth or third century (Figure 2.1.c).[23]

Lastly, a circular white marble altar (Figure 2.2), thought to date to the first century BC, has been found at Methymna on Lesbos which reads: *Ἀγδίσσιδι* | *Κλεόθθις* ('Kleoththis [dedicates this altar] to Agdistis').[24] The original Phrygian tradition of Magna Mater featured both Cybele and Agdistis, but in later Greek traditions Agdistis was mostly suppressed. Jan Bremmer has speculated that this was in part because the story of Agdistis involved self-castration, making Cybele the more palatable figure for Greeks.[25] Evidently, this was not the case at Methymna, where Agdistis was worshipped in full sight of the mountain on which Catullus portrayed his version of Attis as having likewise castrated himself. It would be interesting to know whether this was the version of the myth which was also current among the worshippers of Cybele at the other sanctuaries in and around Mt Ida and throughout the rest of the Troad which have been surveyed above.

The forests of Mt Ida were therefore imagined in both literature and cult, by both locals and people from far beyond the Troad, as a space of

[21] There is also an example in Berlin (48/1904: 11 mm, 12 h, 1.07 g) with *Obv.* bust of Cybele l. in mural crown, *Rev.* lion l. sitting on its haunches, *ΠΛΑ/ΚΙΑ* written vertically in left and right field.

[22] A second-/first-century date is suggested by the combination of the dotted border on the obverse, the broken crossbar of the alpha in the reverse legend, and the fact that the die axes of this series are adjusted to 12 h. For these dating criteria for bronze coinage in the Troad see Ellis-Evans (2017) 32–3.

[23] Cook (1973) 137–40 tentatively identified the fifth- to third-century remains at Ballı Dağı, a hill commanding the Karamenderes Gorge between the Trojan Plain and the middle Scamander valley, as those of Gentinos. This identification is possible but certainly not proven. For more recent excavations of Ballı Dağı see Kossatz-Pompé (1992). Nollé (2017) 47–68 has recently suggested that the female head on coins of Antandros is meant to depict Cybele. While this would obviously add further weight to the argument being made here, it strikes me as problematic that this female deity is not depicted with a mural crown as Cybele is on the coins of Plakia, Gargara, and Gentinos.

[24] *IG* XII (2) 524 = *CCCA* II no. 556 (with dating by Vermaseren). Hodot (1990) 113 misunderstands *Ἀγδίσσιδι* as a personal name; see correctly Robert (1980) 238–9.

[25] Bremmer (2005) 42–3.

Figure 2.1. (a) Small bronze coin, Plakia, fourth century BC. *ANS* 1944.100.43388. (b) Small bronze coin, Gargara, second/first century BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 648. (c) Small bronze coin, Gentinos, fourth/third century BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 659.

(a) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (b and c) Source © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

solitary pastoralists, divine epiphanies, wild deities, ecstatic rites, and convention-breaking behaviour. However, as the tale of Sarıkız has illustrated, it is important that we do not take such portrayals at face value and allow them to colour our perception of the realities of these forests. Recent scholarship has been at pains to establish that portrayals of the environment in literature, art, and religion can perform a wide array of ideological functions which frequently override any desire (if it even existed in the first place) to give a dispassionate

Figure 2.2. Drawing of *IG* XII (2) 524, Methymna, first century BC. K. S. Pittakis, *Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς* 10 (1841) 449–50, no. 658.

account of a particular environment's socio-economic reality.[26] The particular role which mountainous woodland spaces such as Ida were often assigned in the imaginary of the Greek city-state was to act as a foil to the polis and to stand in binary opposition to a particular conception of human society.[27] For example, a story such as Catullus' version of Attis can be read as a deconstruction of male citizen identity which ultimately serves to reinforce the status quo by underlining the terrible personal cost of Attis' actions.[28] However, in order to establish how exactly the reality of life on Mt Ida diverged from this portrayal we need to turn to the testimony of Theophrastos.

2.4 THEOPHRASTOS AND THE FORESTS OF MT IDA

The zoological and botanical enquiries conducted by Aristotle and Theophrastos in the mid-fourth century and thereafter by their Peripatetic

[26] Buxton (1992), Buxton (1994).

[27] Horden and Purcell (2000) 182–6, 328–38, 414, 625. For the ideological work which forests have performed in other societies see for example Schama (1995) 75–134 (Rome and Germany's forests) and Bechmann (1990) 276–91 (medieval France). The dialectic between this ideological work and how forests are economically exploited is especially apparent in the development of 'scientific' forestry in eighteenth-century Prussia and Saxony: Scott (1998) 11–22.

[28] The classic structuralist studies are Sartre (1979), Vidal-Naquet (1981), and Vidal-Naquet (1986). Important qualifications to this approach include Jameson (1989) 7–8, 11–12, Ma (1994), and Ma (2008a).

adherents make extensive and respectful use of local informants.[29] In the course of his botanical researches Theophrastos learned about the medicinal qualities of plants from apothecaries, doctors, and herbalists.[30] He spoke to lumberjacks, mule-drivers, pine-torch makers, carpenters, and architects about trees, timber, and forestry.[31] To improve his knowledge of aquatic plants he questioned divers and the survivors of shipwrecks, and he consulted bee-keepers and seers to satisfy other queries.[32] For the historian, a particularly significant aspect of Theophrastos' working method is that, by and large, he did not modify the material he collected from his informants. For example, when he holds an opinion at odds with the explanation he has been given, he preserves what his source has told him and asserts his own view separately.[33] Even more revealingly, he does not try to standardize spellings, and preserves numerous local or dialect terms for plants.[34] Given that Pliny the Elder is a systematically unreliable epitomator of Theophrastos, we are especially lucky to have almost complete texts of the *Enquiry into Plants* and *Causes of Plants*.[35]

One of the first places Theophrastos put these methods into practice was on Mt Ida. He was born at Eresos on Lesbos, a morning's sail

[29] See Kirchner (1874) 508, 510–11, Strömberg (1937) 69–72, O. Regenbogen, *RE* Suppl. VII 1458.62–1459.46, and I. Düring, *RE* Suppl. XI 264.56–66, Lloyd (1983) 121–6 (discussing the specific case of the ῥιζοτόμοι). The role of Peripatetic philosophy in Theophrastos' account of forestry is explored by Amigues (2002) 69–78.

[30] Lloyd (1983) 121–2.

[31] *HP* 3.9.3, *CP* 1.5.5 (ὑλοτόμοι), *HP* 3.3.7, 3.12.4, 4.13.1 (ὀρεοτύποι), 3.9.3 (δᾳδουργοί), 5.1.12, 5.3.5, 5.5.1–2, 5.6.2 (τέκτονες), 5.5.4–5 (ἀρχιτέκτονες). See Blanc (1996) for ὀρεοτυπός meaning 'mule-driver' and not 'woodcutter' and Amigues (2002) 69–72 for the other livelihoods.

[32] *HP* 4.6.9 (κολυμβηταί, σκινθοί), 6.2.3 (μελιττουργοί), 2.3.1–2, 5.9.8, cf. 4.16.3, *CP* 2.7.5, 5.3.1, 5.4.4 (μάντεις). The meaning of σκινθός is inferred from *naufragus* in the parallel passage of Plin. *HN* 13.138. It is, however, perfectly possible that this is one of Pliny's many errors in reading Theophrastos: see below n. 35. Given the non-Greek termination –νθος, Amigues (1988–2006) 2:245 n. 20 suggests this might be an epichoric term from Asia Minor.

[33] Strömberg (1937) 71. As Lloyd (1983) 122 n. 24 emphasizes, this is true to the principles of ἱστορίη, 'Where the presentation of alternative versions of a story is already a prominent feature in Herodotus'.

[34] See (e.g.) the examples in Strömberg (1937) 72, with specific discussions in Amigues (1988–2006) 1:93 n. 8 (κράδος), 2:137–8 n. 3 (ἀμφίφυα), 2:170 n. 17 (ἑλίκη), 2:182–3 n. 9 (φελλόδρυς), 2:274–5 nn. 5–6 (ἐλέαγνος), 2:296 n. 15 (ψίνεσθαι)—this is, of course, just a small selection (note e.g. σκινθός in n. 32).

[35] Pliny as a botanist: André (1955). His general awfulness as an epitomator: (e.g.) Keyser (1997) 185. Specific cases of mangling the *Enquiry into Plants*: nn. 32, 56, 63, 141, 144.

from Ida, and lived there until his mid-20s. Later, he accompanied his mentor Aristotle to the court of the tyrant Hermias, whose fiefdom extended from Assos on Ida's southern flank to Atarneus on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Mytilene. Following the execution of Hermias on the orders of Artaxerxes III in late 342, Aristotle moved to the Macedonian court of Philip II while Theophrastos moved to Mytilene, where he remained until 337 when he went to Pella to join his teacher.[36] In many instances in the *Enquiry into Plants* Theophrastos was probably reliant on information transmitted to him by colleagues and students who shared his methods.[37] For example, his extensive knowledge of Arkadia derived from his colleague Satyros whom he had dispatched to the region for just this purpose.[38] However, his knowledge of Mt Ida and Macedonia, the two regions he most often mentions, seems to have derived instead from personal experience. So, just as Aristotle took advantage of the incredible biodiversity of the Gulf of Pyrrha on Lesbos (the modern Gulf of Kalloni) to formulate many of his core ideas about zoology, so Theophrastos made the most of his access to the extraordinary flora of the forests of Mt Ida to refine his thoughts on botany.[39] In the process, he provides us with remarkable insights into the social, cultural, and economic life of Mt Ida in the 340s which he had collected directly from the primary producers who lived and worked on this mountain.

We can get a sense of where Theophrastos spent most of his time on Ida from looking at the plants he describes and where their habitats are to be found on the mountain.[40] As has been mentioned, the east–west axis of Mt Ida combined with its position within a zone of transition between two different climactic regimes fosters very different flora on different parts of the mountain.[41] The southern slopes and western end of the mountain are home to plants adapted to a hotter and drier climate, with the lower zone (1–600 m) of these

[36] Amigues (1988–2006) 1:ix–xii.

[37] Amigues (1988–2006) 1:xiii–xvi (scientific methods), xx–xxx (sources).

[38] *HP* 3.12.4.

[39] For Aristotle and the Gulf of Pyrrha see Leroi (2014).

[40] While there is of course variation in the climate over time (and especially in recent decades), only in unusual cases are these changes so great as to make modern data positively misleading: Sallares (1991) 1–41, Woolf (2012) 48–52. The argument of this section only requires the kind of broad similarity in climactic conditions which we can reasonably expect in order to be valid.

[41] Cürebal et al. (2014), Ozgiyit et al. (2015).

areas in particular exhibiting a typical Mediterranean climate.[42] By contrast, the northern slopes and eastern end of the mountain are on average 2° C cooler, receive 5 per cent more rain, are 7 per cent more humid, and experience greater cloud cover with the result that plants adapted to a cooler, damper climate, such as one also finds along the Black Sea coast, predominate here.[43] This creates quite stark differences in the flora one encounters, for example beech trees being widespread on the northern slopes but absent from the southern slopes and, as mentioned earlier, black pine beginning at 270 m on the north-eastern slopes and 400 m on the northern slopes but at 700–750 m on the southern slopes.[44] Indeed, the inhabitants of Mt Ida recognized this difference and incorporated it into their botanical terminology: according to Theophrastos, the black pines which predominate on the northern slopes were known as 'Ida' pines, whereas the Aleppo and Turkish pines encountered on the southern slopes were termed 'shore' pines, reflecting the fact that the side of the mountain on which they were found slopped down to the Aegean.[45]

As a result of these clear patterns in the distribution of the flora, if we can identify the plants Theophrastos is talking about we can also say with some certainty which area of the mountain he is describing. Fortunately, Theophrastos uses a clear set of criteria for identifying plants in the *Enquiry into Plants* which is dependent on the observation of easily identifiable external characteristics and so can be readily verified (unlike, for example, the situation in ancient medicine) and then fulfils these criteria with detailed descriptions. As a result, of all the plants he describes on Mt Ida (a list of which is provided in the appendix to this chapter), in only one case is a plant genuinely unidentifiable, and the doubts which do exist for other plants are confined to which particular subspecies he is describing.[46] Theophrastos was, of course, not trying to provide a comprehensive list of plants on Mt Ida, and this would in any case have been a tall order given that today botanists estimate that the mountain is home to about eight hundred taxa.[47] Nevertheless, there are some significant omissions of plants which are widespread on certain parts of the mountain (e.g. poplar, hornbeam,

[42] Cürebal et al. (2014) 168–71. [43] Cürebal et al. (2014) 171–2.
[44] Cürebal et al. (2014) 171–2, Ozgiyit et al. (2015) 346.
[45] Appendix s.v. *πεύκη* (pine).
[46] Unidentified: Appendix s.v. *πυρὸς ὁ ἀλεξάνδρειος*. Subspecies unclear: Appendix s.vv. *ἐλάτη*, *κέδρος*, *μεσπίλη*.
[47] Uysal (2010).

and olive), and which he pays attention to elsewhere in *Enquiry into Plants*, but which he never talks about in relation to Ida. By and large, these are plants belonging to the lower zone and western end of the mountain, an area with which he must have been familiar from his time at Assos at the court of Hermias. Even when he does mention plants from these parts of the mountain, they often appear in bare lists and are rarely discussed in any further detail.[48]

By contrast, the areas to which he seems to pay the most attention are the 'Ida' pine forests on the northern slopes and the upper zone of the southern slopes. He discusses the different varieties of pine the inhabitants of Mt Ida identify and the uses to which these trees are put at substantial length, he devotes significant space to several plants only found in the upper parts of the mountain (e.g. cornelian cherry, hawthorn, and maple), he identifies a type of myrtle as being typical of the summit, and he describes a willow which is only to be found on Ida at 1100–1200 m.[49] In addition, he gives detailed descriptions of the five types of oak the mountain's inhabitants identify and the variety of whitebeam they (incorrectly) consider to be endemic to the mountain: while these trees can also be found in the lower zone, he may well be thinking of the specimens in the upper zone.[50]

Theophrastos' focus on the upper parts of Mt Ida's forests indicates three things. Firstly, it further underlines the point already established above that Theophrastos was an energetic researcher who travelled widely in these forests. Secondly, since there will also have been plenty of economic activity going on in the lower parts of Ida, Theophrastos' focus on the upper parts presumably reflects his judgement that whereas one could find out about (e.g.) olive cultivation in many parts of the Greek world, the pitch extraction and logging going on in the 'Ida' pine forests was special and thus worth paying particular attention to. Finally, the fact that economic activity was occurring right the way up the mountain indicates that there were no truly wild and deserted spots

[48] See for example Appendix s.vv. *ἄμπελος* (vine), *διοσβάλανος* (sweet chestnut), *καρύα* (hazel), *καρύα ἡ εὐβοϊκή* (sweet chestnut), *κλήθρα* (alder), *κοκκυμηλέα* (plum), *μηλέα* (apple), *μίλος* (yew), *ὀξύη* (beech), *πτελέα* (elm), *ῥόα* (pomegranate). The main exception to this is terebinth: Appendix s.v. *τέρμινθος*.

[49] Appendix s.vv. *πεύκη* (pine), *κράνεια ἥ ἄρρεν/θηλυκράνεια* (cornelian cherry), *μεσπίλη ἥ ἀνθηδών* and *ἥ ἀνθηδονοειδής* (hawthorn), *ζυγία/σφένδαμνος* (maple), *ἄμπελος ἥ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην* (myrtle), *κολοιτέα* (willow).

[50] Appendix s.vv. *δρῦς* (oak), *συκῆ ἥ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην* (whitebeam).

on Ida in antiquity: one might always encounter a herder with his flock, a charcoal burner constructing his kiln, a lumberjack marking out trees to be felled, or a worker tapping a pine tree for pitch.

2.5 PITCH PRODUCTION ON MT IDA

The pine trees of Mt Ida are particularly resinous, and as such they can provide an abundant source of pitch. For example, several nineteenth-century travellers relate how their local guides would break off especially resinous branches and light them to use as torches.[51] Indeed, the inhabitants of Mt Ida described to Theophrastos a disease they called resin-glut whereby a pine would produce so much resin that it died.[52] Pitch produced from pine resin was primarily used in shipbuilding and construction to prevent timbers from rotting in water and in the wine trade to seal amphorae, but both pitch and the resin in its natural form had many other uses in antiquity ranging from flavouring wine to curing ailments.[53]

A variety of different methods can be used to extract resin from pine trees, some of which are rather more sophisticated than others.[54] For example, the traveller Henry Tozer provides an interesting description of how the Turkmen on Mt Ida were producing pitch when he visited the region in August 1861:

> The Turcomans, in addition to the care of their flocks, employ themselves in cutting wood and collecting pitch, which they sell. In many parts of this forest we observed trees which were black and charred, and on inquiry we learned that they are fired in order to extract pitch from them . . . the natives of these parts, too, are fond, we are told, of burning the trees for amusement, as a resinous pine serves admirably for a firework.[55]

[51] Clarke (1814) 77, Tozer (1869) 14, Schliemann (1884) 337.

[52] *HP* 3.9.5.

[53] See (e.g.) Diosk. 1.70–1 (extensive list of uses). See further Meiggs (1982) 467–71 and Amigues (2002) 234 and on terminology André (1964) with the comments of Amigues (1988–2006) 5:72–3 nn. 1, 4.

[54] Brief overview in Meiggs (1982) 469–70.

[55] Tozer (1869) 14. Regarding the pyrotechnic qualities of pitch-producing trees, compare Plin. *HN* 16.45: *omnia autem haec genera accensa fuligine inmodica carbonem repente exspuunt cum eruptionis crepitu eiaculanturque longe.*

Theophrastos describes similar methods being used in antiquity by the inhabitants of Syria, but also relates the use of rather more labour-intensive techniques by the Macedonians and the inhabitants of Mt Ida which indicate an interest in maximizing yield and in turn profitability. For example, we are told that the Syrians use fire to extract resin even from terebinth, whose resin is considered to be of the highest quality and so is used in luxury products.[56] By contrast, the Macedonians try to avoid using fire even for extracting resin from pine trees, which are known for producing large amounts of low-quality resin.[57] Theophrastos again draws this contrast when he compares the fire methods which the Macedonians and Syrians use. The Macedonian method involves the construction of an enormous oven which is continually supervised for two days and two nights. Especially remarkable is the detail that while this process is ongoing the Macedonians sacrifice and celebrate a festival, praying that the pitch will be abundant and of good quality.[58] The celebration of this religious festival makes explicit what is implicit in the labour-intensive process which the Macedonians use for pitch extraction: that their goal was to maximize production.[59] By contrast, the inhabitants of Syria instead used a far simpler method whereby a fire was held close to the tree in order to induce the resin to seep out of the wood.[60] This does not require nearly as much skill, knowledge, and labour as the Macedonian method, presumably reflecting the fact that pitch production was a far lower economic priority for the Syrians.

On Mt Ida, those involved in extracting resin from the pine trees in antiquity appear to have avoided using fire altogether and instead described to Theophrastos the elaborate process by which they tapped the pine trees for their resin.[61] This method was of course used elsewhere in the Greek world, but Theophrastos is at pains to emphasize the greater care which the inhabitants of Mt Ida took and

[56] *HP* 9.2.2. See Amigues (1988–2006) 5:xli–xlii (sources), 72–3 n. 3 (Terebinth resin as a luxury item). Misreported by Plin. *HN* 16.58: *in Syria terebintho detrahunt cortices, ibi quidem et e ramis ac radicibus, cum resina damnetur ex his partibus.*

[57] *HP* 9.2.2, 3.

[58] *HP* 9.3.3.

[59] *HP* 9.3.1–3 with Amigues (1988–2006) 5:77–80 nn. 1–9.

[60] *HP* 9.3.4. For the correct interpretation of the method involved see Amigues (1988–2006) 5:80–1 n. 11.

[61] Only torch-makers (*οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην δᾳδουργοί*: *HP* 3.9.3) are explicitly referred to, but it is clear that resin was being extracted for a far wider set of purposes.

the superior knowledge of the natural processes involved which they had developed. For example, it was generally observed that the holes made in the tree from tapping it filled up afterwards, but there was disagreement as to whether this filling-up (ἀναπλήρωσις) was just new pitch or instead the wood re-growing. Theophrastos observes that it is in fact a bit of both, especially if fire has been applied to the tree in the manner of the Syrians.[62] The inhabitants of Mt Ida instead prompt the trees to produce resin by stripping the bark from the side facing the sun to a height of 2–3 cubits (approximately 1–1.5 m) fifteen days before the beginning of the month Thargelion (about the first week of May): in this way, Theophrastos reports, they ensure that it is pitch not wood which fills up the holes made by tapping the tree.[63]

His informants also describe how individual trees are treated differently depending on their quality. A good pine is tapped on an annual basis, an average specimen is left for two years, and a poor specimen for three years.[64] Only once a tree has given out is the pitch extracted from its heart wood and roots.[65] The best pitch is said to be produced from pines on the northern slopes of Mt Ida, such as those which would have been found in the territories of Skepsis and Kebren.[66] Indeed, an Ottoman cadastral survey of 1574 records the village of Saraycık on a north-facing slope a few kilometres above the former site of Skepsis as being home to *katrancılar* ('producers of tar').[67] This view of the economic value of pine trees also appears to be reflected in the terminology which the inhabitants of Mt Ida used, distinguishing between what they termed 'Ida' pines (ἡ πεύκη ἡ Ἰδαία in Theophrastos = black pine according to modern terminology) and 'shore' pines (ἡ πεύκη ἡ παραλία = Aleppo or Turkish pine), with the former suited to the production of pitch and the latter for use as timber.[68] As has been mentioned, given Ida's geography, 'shore' pines were in practice those on the mountain's southern flank.

[62] *HP* 9.2.6. For discussion of this difficult passage see Amigues (1988–2006) 5:76 nn. 15–16.

[63] *HP* 3.5.1, 4.15.3 (season), 9.2.7 (bark stripping). Plin. *HN* 16.106 reports the time of year as a general rule rather than (as Theophrastos emphasizes) the specific practice of the inhabitants of Mt Ida. For the many other simplifications and errors in this passage see André, *Pline XVI*, 135–6 n. 1.

[64] *HP* 9.2.6, 8. [65] *HP* 9.2.8. [66] *HP* 9.2.3, cf. 4.1.1–2.

[67] Cook (1973) 291. [68] Appendix s.v. πεύκη.

The importance of being able to accurately distinguish between 'Ida' and 'shore' pines is also indicated by the detailed descriptions which Theophrastos' informants gave him regarding the distinguishing features of each.[69] For example, 'Ida' pines have a straighter, taller, and thicker trunk, their bark cannot be used for tanning, their cones are longer, green in colour, and do not split so far open, and their pitch is blacker, sweeter, thinner, and more fragrant, but with a tendency to reduce in volume when boiled due to its watery character. By contrast, 'shore' pines have weaker and more slender leaves, their bark is smoother and is suitable for tanning, their cones are round and split open readily, and their timber is stronger. Significantly, both the terminology and the choice of defining characteristics are specific to Mt Ida: as Theophrastos notes, in Macedonia his informants instead distinguished these varieties of pine as 'male' (τὸ ἄρρεν = Aleppo or Turkish pine) and 'female' (τὸ θῆλυ = black pine) and provided him with a different list of defining characteristics which did not place the same emphasis on the economic uses to which each could be put.[70]

We can surmise from Theophrastos' testimony that what he witnessed in the 340s on Mt Ida was forestry being practised in a systematic and planned way.[71] The methods he describes presuppose widely diffused expert knowledge about pine trees and the uses to which they can be put. To be effective, these methods would have required significant levels of organization to ensure, for example, that pines which needed to forgo one or two years of being tapped did so, while the process of barking the trees under cultivation at a particular time of year presupposes the ability to organize and deploy a sizeable labour force. While far more labour intensive than the Syrian method of using fire, barking the trees ensured greater and more sustainable yields. Indeed, Theophrastos states that the reason the inhabitants of Mt Ida paid so much individual attention to each pine tree was to ensure that they continued producing pitch for as long as possible.[72] In this context, his use of the verb ταμιεύεσθαι ('manage like a

[69] *HP* 3.9.1–2. Much of this material is repeated at *HP* 9.2.5 and in both cases the source is certainly oral informants on Mt Ida: Amigues (1988–2006) 5:xv–xvi. Note too the complementary discussion in Plin. *HN* 16.52–55 on *pix liquida*.

[70] *HP* 3.9.2. Identification: Amigues (1988–2006) 2:151 nn. 8–9. On the gendering of plants in Theophrastos see Foxhall (1998).

[71] For systematic forestry in the Mediterranean see Horden and Purcell (2000) 184.

[72] *HP* 9.2.8.

steward') is revealing, explicitly indicating that the purpose of these actions was to husband an important revenue stream.[73] In later periods we continue to encounter Idaian pitch as a well-known export of the region. For example, Virgil twice recommends its use in the *Georgics*, while both Pliny and the *Geoponika* single it out as being the best pitch produced in Asia for sealing wine containers.[74] Indeed, papyri indicate that *πίσσα Τρωαδησία* ('Troad pitch') was being imported by potters' workshops in Roman Egypt in the third and fourth century AD, presumably for the purpose of sealing vessels.[75]

2.6 TIMBER AND TRANSPORT

Ida's pine forests were also an important source of timber for shipbuilding and construction. A striking illustration of the mountain's regional reputation in this regard is to be found in a quirk of Herodotean vocabulary. Ida was of course known to Herodotus as a toponym,[76] but on six occasions he instead uses *ἴδη* to refer either to (1) timber suitable for shipbuilding or (2) a particularly densely wooded forest.[77] The geographic contexts for all six passages are far removed from the Troad and relate to non-Greek peoples, while in

[73] Amigues (1988–2006) 5:77 n. 20 ('gérer à la manière d'un intendant'). *ταμιεύεσθαι* is also used at *HP* 5.8.1 (forests of Cyprus) and 6.3.2 (Silphium), both contexts of intensive economic exploitation of an important natural resource; cf. 9.3.4, where the Syrians put a *ὅρος* ('limit') to the use of fire on any individual Terebinth tree: Amigues (1988–2006) 5:81 n. 12.

[74] Vir. *Geor.* 3.450, 4.41, cf. *Geop.* 6.5.1; Plin. *HN* 14.128: *Asia picem Idaeam maxime probat, Graecia Piericam, Vergilius Naryciam*, with André, *Pline XIV* 144–5 n. 1.

[75] *πίσσα Τρωαδησία*: *P. Oxy.* 50.3596 lines 18–19 (AD 219–255), 54.3766 lines 71–4 (AD 329). The adjective is only otherwise attested for a stoa in Constantinople (*Τρωαδησίοι ἔμβολοι*: Malalas, *Chron.* 14.22, Hesychius Illustrius *FHG* IV F 4 Müller; not 'headlands' as Cockle [1981] 95 translates). Cockle (1981) 94–5 therefore suggested emending the text to *Τρωγλοδύται*, while the editors of *P. Oxy.* 50 (1983) 240 sought a recherché reference to the colonization of Siris on account of the papyrus also mentioning *πίσσα Σιρητική*. All this ingenuity is quite unnecessary. As Marijana Ricl (*I. Alex. Troas* T 140) has correctly seen, this is simply pitch exported by Alexandreia Troas, in whose territory the north-facing slopes of Ida formerly belonging to Kebren lay. As Jones (2010) 35 observes, the city's usual name in the Imperial period is Troas not Alexandreia (presumably to avoid confusion with the Egyptian metropolis).

[76] e.g. Hdt. 1.151.1, 7.42.2 (both times Ida in the Troad).

[77] See Powell, *Lexicon* s.v. *ἴδη*.

the single case of *ἴδη* meaning timber for shipbuilding the phrase is used by a Persian in an imagined dialogue with another Persian.[78] It would therefore seem that this piece of vocabulary is an aspect of the literary Ionic Greek which Herodotus wrote in. Whenever Herodotus uses *ἴδη*, he characterizes this kind of forest as being boundless (e.g. *ἄφθονος*, 'plentiful'; *δασύς*, 'thickly wooded'; *παντοῖαι ἴδαι* [i.e. *ὕλαι*], 'trees of every kind') and as being particularly densely wooded (e.g. *συνηρεφής ἴδῃσι*, 'thickly shaded with trees'). Further examples are only to be found in an ambiguous passage of Theokritos (which may simply be referring to Mt Ida) and in two passages of the early third-century AD sophist Flavius Philostratos in which its use appears to be a conscious piece of recherché learning.[79] Herodotus is therefore effectively unique in using this term. Etymologists have concluded that the toponym is a linguistic fossil belonging to a pre-Greek language once spoken in western Asia Minor.[80] Whatever the word's original meaning, it is therefore very unlikely that this was still known to the Greeks of western Asia Minor in the Classical period. This suggests that Ionic Greek had instead derived the word's meaning by association with the forests on Ida in the Troad,[81] not from a preserved memory of what the word had originally meant.[82] It therefore seems that such was Ida's reputation as a source of shipbuilding timber and as a proverbially vast forest that, by the fifth century, Ionic Greek had come to use *ἴδη* as a near synonym of *ὕλη*.[83]

78 Hdt. 1.110.2 (Media), 4.109.2 (Skythia), 4.175.2 (Libya); 5.23.2 (Thrace—Persian in imagined dialogue with another Persian); 7.111.1 (Thrace).

79 Theokr. *Id.* 17.9–10 (in favour of reading *Ἴδαν* as a toponym here see Gow [1950] 2:328 s.v. *πολύδενδρον* and Amigues [2002] 235), Philostr. *VA* 3.4 (where the phrase *ξυνηρεφὲς ἴδαις* appears to be in conscious imitation of Hdt. 1.110.2, 7.111.1), Philostr. *Dialexis* 2.2.

80 Boisacq (1950) s.v. *ἴδη*, Frisk (1960–72) s.v. *ἴδη*, Hester (1965) 372–3, Chantraine (1999) s.v. *ἴδη* ('Comme le confirme le toponyme, doit être un terme indigene préhellénique, donc sans étymologie établie'), Bettarini (2014) 51–6.

81 The forests on the flanks of Mt Ida on Crete had no particular reputation in antiquity, and so I have here assumed that Mt Ida in the Troad is the more likely point of reference, especially for a resident of western Asia Minor. There is also an obscure settlement in the Thracian Chersonese called Ide about which little more can be said: *IACP* no. 664.

82 Compare Amigues (2002) 7 on plant names with pre-Greek origins.

83 The most striking example of this is the precise equivalence between Hdt. 4.21 (*Βουδῖνοι γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν* <u>*ὕλῃ*</u> *παντοίῃ*) and 4.109.2 (*ἡ δὲ χώρη σφέων* [i.e. *τῶν Βουδίνων*] *πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα* <u>*ἴδῃσι*</u> *παντοίῃσι*).

Theophrastos lists the forests of Mt Ida among those which produced timber suitable for shipbuilding, but comments that the capacity of these forests was not as great as those of Macedon, Lebanon, Bithynia, or Pontos.[84] However, as the nineteenth-century geographer Vital Cuinet observed, the great advantage of these forests lay rather in the accessibility of this resource, since access to water-borne transport on the Scamander River to the north and by the Gulf of Adramytteion to the south dramatically cut transport costs for timber sourced from Mt Ida.[85] The difficulties involved in exploiting timber resources of comparable quality but in less accessible regions is illustrated by a conversation which Walter Leaf had with a Dutch timber merchant when visiting this region in 1911:

> On the north side of the Scamander valley there are extensive oak forests which, however, seem to be but little cut. At Karabiga, the little port of Biga, we had the pleasure of meeting a Dutch gentleman, representing a firm who had made a large purchase of standing timber in the neighbourhood of Kilissi Alan near Büyük Tepe Köy [= vicinity of Çan]. He was engaged in superintending the felling and transport of the oaks. The transport was a serious matter, as every trunk had to be dragged down to the sea by a pair of buffaloes, a distance of nearly 40 miles, by most execrable roads.[86]

While the historical context may be very different, the practical challenge which Leaf's informant faced would have been no less serious in antiquity. As we would expect, therefore, the accessibility of timber sources was viewed as a key characteristic of forests. For example, Strabo terms the forests in Sinope's territory *εὐκατακόμιστον* because they were accessible by river, whereas Theophrastos relates that part of the reason why the forests of Cyprus had been left untouched until comparatively recently was that they were *δυσκόμιστον*.[87]

Pliny refers to the Scamander (the modern Karamenderes Çayı) as an *amnis navigabilis*.[88] The truth of this statement can no longer be

[84] *HP* 4.5.5. The timber resources of each of these regions is discussed in Meiggs (1982) 357–8. For Theophrastos' close interest in shipbuilding see Amigues (2002) 79–94.

[85] Cuinet (1891–1900) 3:705, cf. Magie (1950) 1:43.

[86] Leaf (1912b) 35.

[87] *HP* 5.8.1, Strabo 12.3.12. For the transportation of timber see Mulliez (1982) and Meiggs (1982) 335–42.

[88] Plin. *HN* 5.33: *Troadis primus locus Hamaxitus, dein Cebrenia ipsaque Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria colonia Romana, oppidum Nee, Scamander amnis navigabilis et in promunturio quondam Sigeum oppidum*. Korfmann (2004) 428

ascertained simply by visiting the region, since the river's character has now been dramatically altered by the construction of numerous hydrological engineering works since the 1950s designed to regulate the river's flow and irrigate agriculture in the Trojan Plain and the Bayramiç ovası (the middle Scamander valley).

However, we know that the character of the river used to be much more changeable. Korfmann reports that as late as the 1980s the varying height of the river waters in the early summer months (April–June) could still render the river impassable in the Trojan Plain even for off-road vehicles, a situation which was only fully remedied in 2001 with the construction of a concrete bridge.[89] Korfmann also spoke to old men in the villages of Yeniköy and Tevfikiye in the Trojan Plain who remembered how, before the engineering projects were begun in the 1950s, the river could double or triple in size in the early summer months and rise by three to four metres.[90] As Cook noted, numerous travellers have almost lost their lives attempting to cross the river in spate, the most famous instance being the close call experienced by Augustus' daughter Julia, who was almost swept away along with all her servants when she attempted a crossing at night in the winter of 15/14 BC.[91] In a particularly well-observed account from a journey made in July 1750, Robert Wood noted that the evidence of the river's spring-time violence was everywhere to be seen in the gorge through which the river must pass to reach the Trojan Plain (the Karamenderes Gorge) and that, given this, the violence and power displayed by the river god Scamander in the *Iliad* should be attributed at least in part to the experience of witnessing these mighty floods.[92]

As Korfmann notes, however, since the eighteenth century when European travellers began to visit the Troad in significant numbers, visitors to the region have usually come in high summer when the river's volume was at its lowest, often drying up altogether by the time it reached Ballı Dağı in the Karamenderes Gorge.[93] As a result, many

argued that Pliny is here only referring to the part of the Scamander near Sigeion being navigable. This is certainly possible, but perhaps gives Pliny too much credit.

[89] Korfmann (2004) 429.

[90] Korfmann (2004) 430–1.

[91] Cook (1973) 295 and Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 134.

[92] Wood (1775) 327–8.

[93] Korfmann (2004) 428–9 and see Cook (1973) 293–5 for travellers' reports to this effect.

have been left with the same impression as Walter Leaf, who wrote, 'When [Pliny] speaks of the Scamander as a "navigable river", one must confess to respectful surprise'.[94] However, as he goes on to say: 'It is highly improbable that the Scamander was ever navigable for anything but the pinewood planks which are floated down when it is full in spring, and pursue a precarious course, with much aid from the shore, among shallows and sand-banks.'[95] The use of the Scamander for floating logs is likewise recorded by Cuinet in the late nineteenth century,[96] and in another publication relating to the same trip of April–May 1911, Leaf gives a much more detailed description:

> The trunks are sawn on the hillsides, and the planks carried by mules, horses, or donkeys either to the landing-places on the south coast, or northward to the main stream of the Scamander, which has sufficient water in spring to float them from a point a little below the village of Karaköy. We saw them coming down all the way as far as the mouth of the river at Kum Kalesi at the opening of the Hellespont. The stream is in the upper portion shallow and tortuous, and frequent timber jams were the result. A large number of men were occupied all along the course of the river in breaking up these and sending the logs afloat.[97]

Karaköy is a village in the upper Scamander valley approximately 17 km east of Skepsis, while Kum Kalesi is located on the Hellespont near the site of Ilion. While travelling through the area in June 1959, Cook was likewise told that, 'Logs are floated down from the Çatal Ağıl bridge to Kum Kale'.[98] Çatal Ağıl bridge is 3 km south of Skepsis, the view north from which in late August is pictured below in Figure 2.3. These reports are further confirmed by Korfmann's informants in Tevfikiye, who recalled how the Tahtacı Turkmen who had cut down these logs on Ida and turned them into planks used to then shepherd them down to the harbour at Eski Kumkale on the Dardanelles before they were transported by ship to Istanbul.[99] Indeed, a grainy postcard photo taken *c.*1906–14 (Figure 2.4) depicts timber which had been floated down the nearby Sarı Çayı (the ancient Rhodios), which passes through the centre of Çanakkale (ancient Abydos), in precisely this way.

[94] Leaf (1912a) 387. [95] Leaf (1912a) 387–8. [96] Cuinet (1891–1900) 3:720.
[97] Leaf (1912b) 35. [98] Cook (1973) 293. [99] Korfmann (2004) 430–1.

Figure 2.3. The course of the Scamander in late August as seen from Çatal Ağıl bridge (3 km south of Skepsis).
© Author.

Figure 2.4. Timber which has been floated down to the mouth of the Sarı Çayı on the Dardanelles, *c.*1906–14. Aksu (2003) Plate 10.
Image source: Reyhan Körpe.

While we do not have direct evidence from antiquity for the use of the Scamander to float logs down from the northern foothills of Mt Ida to the Hellespont, we know that log floating has been used extensively in many other parts of Asia Minor from antiquity up until the twentieth century.[100] Moreover, as is apparent from the various

[100] Louis Robert assembled a dossier of examples which primarily focused on the use of the Indos (Dalaman Çayı) for floating logs down to Kaunos (Dalyan), but also included examples from elsewhere in Asia Minor (e.g. Lykia, Cilicia, the Sinopitis):

accounts of it being practiced in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the operation, while labour intensive, was by no means technologically complex. The Scamander could therefore have been used to transport the timber which, as Theophrastos tells us, was felled on Mt Ida after the first blooming at the beginning of May, precisely the time when the Scamander's waters were high enough to be used in this way.[101]

In Leaf's description quoted above he also refers to timber being transported to 'the landing-places on the south coast'. On Ida's southern flank the mountain drops precipitously into the sea, leaving only a narrow stretch of arable land between the foothills and the shore which at points is no more than a few hundred metres across. As a result, the forest's many products are within easy reach of networks of maritime redistribution. How this relationship could work in practice is particularly well illustrated by the scala system which several nineteenth-century travellers saw in operation. Schliemann gives the following description of travelling along this coast in May 1881:

> For fear of pirates there is not a single village on the seashore from Alexandria Troas to Cape Lectum, and on both sides of the Gulf of Adramyttium all the villages lie on the heights, about an hour from the seashore; but each of them has on the shore a wooden barrack, serving as a timber-store, from which are shipped planks, beams, and rafters, as well as pine-bark. Near the timber store there is invariably a warehouse, in which bread, cheese, salt, and tobacco are sold . . . Such loading-places are always called by the Italian name of *Scala*.[102]

In his own description of the scala system, Leaf adds that, '[timber from Mt Ida is piled up] to be shipped whenever the weather is fine enough for the coasting kaiks to lie alongside; and to these is carried down the charcoal burnt from the dwarf oak scrub which clothes the hills wherever the pines have been cut away'.[103] As it happens, Leaf photographed such a scene while at the scala of Avcılar (Figure 2.5), a short distance from the acropolis of Antandros.

As with log floating on the Scamander, our sources do not tell us directly whether this precise arrangement existed in antiquity. However, the significance of these travellers' accounts is that they

Robert (1937) 505–6, esp. 506 n. 1, Robert, *OMS* 7:393 with fig. 7, Robert (1980) 67 n. 416 with fig. 5 and 89–98, Robert (1987) 507–8, Adak (2006) 212.

[101] *HP* 3.5.1 (budding of trees on Mt Ida), 3.5.3, 5.1.1–2 (season for felling fir, black pine, and Aleppo/Turkish pine).

[102] Schliemann (1884) 320–1.

[103] Leaf (1912a) 202–3.

Figure 2.5. Scala of Avcılar with a moored caique and lumber pile in the foreground and behind the acropolis of Antandros in April–May 1911. Leaf (1912a) 200–1, Plate XIX.

demonstrate both the elegant simplicity of the scala system for dealing with a cumbersome commodity such as timber and the ease with which such a system could be established. No bureaucracy was required to organize these shipments, the only physical infrastructure involved was a hut, and the transport costs could be further offset by filling out timber consignments with the many other commodities produced by the woodland economy. The situation in the nineteenth century thus illustrates how easily the *façade maritime* of the southern Troad could be transformed into a porous interface for moving timber by sea to a central point for subsequent dispersal. In the nineteenth century this central point was Edremit (ancient Adramytteion) or Mytilene, whereas in antiquity it was Aspaneus, the port of Antandros, which Strabo describes as the market for timber from Mt Ida to which logs were brought down from the mountain and then sold on to customers.[104]

[104] Strabo 13.1.51: *ὁ Ἀσπανεὺς τὸ ὑλοτόμιον τῆς Ἰδαίας ὕλης· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διατίθενται κατάγοντες τοῖς δεομένοις* (‘Aspaneus, the market for the timber from Mt Ida; for here people bring it down and sell it to those who want it’). See further Meiggs (1982) 357. The port of Astyria mentioned in *The Customs Law of Asia* §9, line 24 is thought to be identical with Aspaneus: Engelmann and Knibbe (1989) 63. This list of ports probably reflects the situation in the 120s BC: Mitchell (2008) 199 n. 122.

2.7 THE EPIPHENOMENAL POLIS? ANTANDROS, MT IDA, AND THE TROAD

Easy access to shipbuilding timber and to pitch for caulking hulls meant that Antandros was repeatedly used in antiquity as a location for building ships.[105] For example, Thucydides relates that the Mytilenaian and other Lesbian exiles who seized Antandros in 424 did so with the intention of using it as a base from which to harry Lesbos and capture Mytilene's former possessions in the region. Their choice of Antandros for this task was motivated by its access to certain resources: 'With Mt Ida nearby and timber at hand, it was well suited for building ships and providing the rest of the supplies.'[106] When in 410 the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, Pharnabazos, needed to rebuild the fleet of his Spartan and Peloponnesian allies following the Athenian victory at Kyzikos, 'He ordered his commanders to build triremes at Antandros equal in number to those they had lost, giving them money for the task and telling them to get timber from Ida'.[107] Again, in 405 the Spartan general Lysander, having arrived at Ephesos, sent the fleet which had survived the defeat at Arginousai the previous year to be refitted and expanded at Antandros.[108]

In the third and second century BC the Attalids took a great deal of interest in this region and its resources, and it seems likely that this was related to the energetic use they made of their navy and the resource needs which this imposed on their kingdom.[109] Especially revealing is Strabo's quotation from a lost work by Attalos I (r. 241–197) which describes the *Καλὴ Πεύκη* ('Beautiful Pine'), a pine tree of extraordinary size which was supposedly to be found on the heights of Mt Ida:

> Its circumference is 24 feet, and in terms of height it rises 67 feet from its root, then splits into three forks equidistant from one another, then

[105] Hornblower (1991–2008) 2:213. [106] Thuc. 4.52.3.
[107] Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.25. [108] Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.10.
[109] Ma (2013) 53–5, 58 (use of fleet), 61–2 (size), esp. 62: 'The supply of timber, pitch, flax, or the hiring and paying of crews, remain obscure questions.' See, however, Rostovtzeff (1923) 365: 'The possession of, or the command over, the region around Mount Ida was a question of life and death for the Pergamene kingdom, as Ida was the main, if not the only source of timber and pitch for the shipbuilding activity of the Pergamene kings.'

> again draws together into a crown, achieving a total height of 2 *plethra* (= 69 m) and 15 cubits (= 7.5 m).[110]

The varieties of pine native to this region rarely grow to even half the size described.[111] While Attalos therefore purports to be giving a scientific account of the region's botany, complete with a spuriously precise description of the tree's dimensions, in reality the Kale Peuke is an Attalid fantasy about the limitless nature of Ida's timber resources. The physical manifestation of this acquisitive gaze was the colony of Philetaireia under Ida, thought to have been located a short distance east of Antandros.[112] It is a testament to Antandros' enduring reputation in antiquity for shipbuilding that Virgil chose this city, which in reality was only founded in the eighth century BC, to be the location where Aineias built his fleet before fleeing west with the surviving Trojans.[113]

It is striking to note how, in the very different context of Turkic expansion through Anatolia in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the forests of Mt Ida and the area around Antandros were once again used for shipbuilding even though the city of Antandros had long since been abandoned. In the fourteenth century this area was part of the *beylik* of Karesi (a Selçuk principality) in Mysia whose capital was at Bergama (Pergamon). In September 1334 the *bey* of Karesi, the corsair and slaver Yahşi, fielded 200 ships in a disastrous naval engagement against an alliance of Christian forces in the vicinity of *Landrimiti* (Adramytteion).[114] As Cook observed, the strong implication is that Yahşi *bey* was maintaining his fleet in what had formerly been the vicinity of Antandros.[115] Just over a century later in the early

[110] Strabo 13.1.44: *περὶ δὲ τῆς καλῆς πεύκης Ἄτταλος ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεύσας οὕτως γράφει· «τὴν μὲν περίμετρον εἶναί» φησι «ποδῶν τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἀπὸ μὲν ῥίζης †ἐᾶν† ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ πόδας, εἶτ' εἰς τρία σχιζομένην ἴσον ἀλλήλων διέχοντα, εἶτα πάλιν συναγομένην εἰς μίαν κορυφήν, ἀποτελοῦσαν τὸ πᾶν ὕψος δυεῖν πλέθρων καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν»* (adapted from the Loeb). For the textual corruption see Radt (2002–11) 7:493.

[111] Amigues (1988–2006) 2:150 n. 4.

[112] *Φιλεταίρεια ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδην*: *OGIS* 266.20–1, 54–5 (r. Eumenes I, 263–241). For a location east of Antandros see Stauber (1996) 1:13–14. For this and the issue of when the colony was founded see most recently Kosmetatou (2001) 110–17.

[113] Vir. *Aen.* 3.5–6; cf. *Aen.* 9.80–1 This tradition is soon after picked up in Ov. *Met.* 13.627–8. Note also Ov. *Her.* 16.105–8 (Paris building a fleet to go to Greece and seize Helen at Gargara under Ida).

[114] Lemerle (1957) 95–101, Laiou (1970), esp. 387–8.

[115] Cook (1973) 270 n. 4.

1450s, Mehmed the Conqueror moved the Tahtacı Turkmen from the Taurus Mountains to Ida to provide timber for the construction of his fleet which would go on to help capture Constantinople in 1453 and Lesbos in 1462.[116]

While it is to be expected that Lesbian exiles bent on returning to their island would choose the timber resources on the part of the mainland nearest to Lesbos for building their fleet, it is striking that Persian satraps, Spartan generals, Attalid kings, Anatolian *beyliks*, and Ottoman sultans, all of whom had access to far greater stretches of coastal Asia Minor, nevertheless still considered Ida to be the place most ideally suited for this purpose. Moreover, the rest of the southern coast of the Troad had equally good access to the forests of Mt Ida and to the Gulf of Adramytteion, and so the long-term attractiveness of Antandros (or rather the space which during antiquity Antandros happened to occupy) to both a Hellenistic kingdom and an Anatolian *beylik* or an Ottoman sultan needs to be explained in terms of an additional factor. This is most likely its privileged position at the intersection of a number of overland routes which connected the Gulf of Adramytteion to the Asian shore of the Dardanelles.[117]

From Antandros, Mt Ida could be crossed either by taking the coastal road west and then at Gargara heading north into the middle Scamander valley or by taking a route directly across Mt Ida which brought one out near Skepsis. Of these two routes, the former was certainly the easiest and the most capable of handling large volumes of traffic. The section of the coastal road which passes through the necropolis of Antandros shows that it was well-maintained from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and on several occasions was expanded to handle greater volumes traffic.[118] This will certainly have been the route which the army of Xerxes took in 480 as it made its way to the Dardanelles.[119]

In addition to this, however, we also have evidence that the more difficult route straight across Mt Ida was important in spring and

[116] See n. 7. [117] Cook (1973) 288–90.

[118] I am very grateful to Dr Aslı Saka (Ege Üniversitesi) for discussion on all these points and for showing me the ongoing excavations on my visit to Antandros in July 2017.

[119] Hdt. 7.42 with Cook (1973) 392–3 and Bieg (2006) 27.

summer when snow was not blocking the passes.[120] Having crossed Ida and reached Skepsis, one could either travel west through the middle Scamander valley or head north-east up what was known to Strabo as the Karesene valley through which both the Kurşak Çayı (Andiros River) and now the modern Izmir-Çanakkale road run.[121] On the northern flank of this valley, Gergis commands the *c.*30 km route across a forested plateau which eventually descends to the plain around Abydos on the Hellespont.[122] As was discussed earlier, important cult sites to Cybele are found at two strategic junctures along this route, indicating their importance in the wider geography of the region: firstly, at the point just south of Evciler where one leaves the foothills of Mt Ida and first enters the middle Scamander valley and, secondly, at the half-way point of the route between the middle Scamander valley and the Hellespontine coast at Kayalı Dağı.[123]

We have a number of examples from antiquity and the medieval period of armies using this route, indicating that it was capable of supporting decent volumes of traffic. In 424 the Lesbian exiles used it to march from Rhoiteion to Antandros without alerting Athenian naval patrols to their movements, while in 411 the Antandrians used it to ferry Peloponnesian troops from Abydos to Antandros to expel

[120] Snow blocking the passes: Schliemann (1884) 333, 336, Leaf (1912a) 201, 217–18, Leaf (1912b) 32. Schliemann (1884) 324–5 usefully records his travel time on this route: it took him seven hours to cross Ida from Avcılar (near Antandros) to Evciler (near Skepsis) and another hour to reach Bayramiç, a journey of approximately 35–40 km. Compare Leaf (1912a) 245: 'The Alp is reached by the long but easy path which runs north-westward from the modern village of Zeytinli, and still forms the natural communication between the plains of Bayramiç and Edremit' (NB—this Zeytinli is the one 6.5 km NW of Edremit). It is surely not coincidental that the modern villages at either end of this route across Ida have the same name ('House of the Hunters').

[121] Strabo 13.1.44. See Cook (1973) 284. For Attalos I using this route to move troops through the region see Ma (2002) 59 n. 26.

[122] The account of Judeich (1898) 533 travelling from Çanakkale to Bayramiç in May 1896 is one of the few descriptions we have of this region: 'Today, the entire forested mountain country between the Rhodios and the Scamander is very thinly populated, few and far between are the settlements of wood cutters consisting of a few huts which one encounters, and agriculture has only reached the edge of the mountain . . . one of these little border villages, Kuşçayır ("meadow bird"), apparently quite wealthy and provided with abundant spring water, about two hours from Kayalı Dağı, at its western foot, gave us quarters for the night.' For Judeich's itinerary see Cook (1973) 286–7.

[123] See n. 20.

the Persian garrison that had occupied the city.[124] In 399 Xenophon's Ten Thousand marched from Ophryneion (a short distance up the coast from Rhoiteion) across Ida to Antandros, presumably in order to shorten their journey.[125] In 387, the Spartan commander Anaxibios used this route to bring his army across to Antandros, but on the way back was ambushed by the Athenian general Iphikrates. Xenophon's precise description of the topography of the battle puts it beyond doubt which route was taken.[126] The cluster of examples we have for the mid-Classical period reflects the fortuitous coincidence of intensive warfare in western Asia Minor and the survival of detailed historical narratives describing these campaigns. When these factors coincide once more in the late Byzantine period, we again encounter references to this route being used by armies on the march.[127] The significance of this route was acknowledged by the Byzantine state, which constructed the fort of Kenchreai at Kayalı Dağı, a steep-sided hill which commands the section of the route between the middle Scamander valley and the Hellespontine coast.[128]

[124] Thuc. 4.52.3 (424 BC); see Cook (1973) 289 for the suggestion that they were trying to avoid naval patrols. Thuc. 8.108.4 (411 BC).

[125] Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.7. [126] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35–9.

[127] Alexias I sends an army to the Thrakesian *thema* to head off the forces of Melikşah in autumn 1111 (Anna Kom. *Alex.* 14.3.1): *ἀποδιελὼν ἱκανὸν στράτευμα διὰ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου μέχρις Ἀτραμυτίου καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Θρᾳκησίου κατατίθησιν* ('[He] set apart a goodly army to go over the Scamander to Adramytteion or even Thrakesion and stay there'). Use of the route is implied by the course of a Turkish incursion in 1113 (Anna Kom. *Alex.* 14.5.3): *εἶτα τόν τε Κοντογμὴν καὶ τὸν ἀμὴρ Μουχούμετ τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἀρχισατράπας διὰ τῶν Λεντιανῶν πρὸς τὸ Ποιμανηνὸν* [in the SW of the Daskylitis Plain] *ἀπιέναι . . . τὸν δέ γε Μονόλυκον ποταμὸν* [= Aisepos] *τινὰ διαπεράσαντα Βαρηνὸν* [= Baris: Hasluck (1909) 105–9] *ἐγχωρίως καλούμενον, ῥέοντα μὲν ἀπό τινος ὄρους Ἴβιδος* [= Ida?] *καλουμένου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπορρυΐσκονται ποταμοί, Σκάμανδρός τε καὶ Ἀγγελοκωμίτης καὶ Ἔμπηλος* [= Enbeilos: Hasluck (1909) 43], *πρός τε τὸ Πάρεον ἀπονενευκέναι καὶ τὴν ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου Ἄβυδον, καὶ δι᾽ Ἀτραμυττίου τὲ καὶ τῶν Χλιαρῶν* [= Tarhala, Kaikos valley: Foss (1998) 160–6] *διεληλυθότα* ('Contogmen and the Ameer Muhumet, the arch-satraps of the picked troops, had proceeded by way of Lentiana to Poimanenon . . . After crossing the river Monolykos (locally called Barenos, which flows down from a mountain named Ibis, in which many other rivers take their rise, namely the Scamander, the Angelocomites, and the Empelos), they turned off to Parion and Abydos on the Hellespont and then marched through Adramytteion and Chliara').

[128] Cook (1973) 288–9, Belke (2004), Bieg, Belke, and Tekkök (2009) 168, 170. The toponym first appears in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κεγχρεαί* in the sixth century AD. The fort is first attested when it is used in a rear-guard action against the Latins fought by John III Doukas Vatatzes in 1233 (George Akropolites, *Brev. Hist.* 30 ed. Macrides), then again as a place of banishment for Manuel Komnenos in 1280 (*PLP* 24132), and finally as a refuge from Turkish incursions for the population of the middle Scamander valley,

The long-term success of Antandros as an urban settlement in antiquity would therefore seem to be easy to explain: it lay at the confluence of routes of terrestrial and maritime communication, and it had cheap and easy access to a complementary combination of resources (pitch and timber) which supported secondary industries such as shipbuilding. The question remains, however, to what extent the existence of Antandros at the point at which these factors happened to converge did anything to change or contribute to the relationship between the forests of Mt Ida and the lowland areas around it. Horden and Purcell have argued that, at least in ecological and economic terms, we should not treat towns as having their own kind of history entirely separate from that of the countryside.[129] Towns should instead be 'dissolved' into their wider environment and viewed as epiphenomenal to the larger ecological processes which animate their region.[130] In favour of this interpretation for Antandros is the fact that in the fourteenth and fifteenth century when the city no longer existed the confluence of factors which had once made it an important centre for shipbuilding still remained and were able to attract the interest of Yahşi *bey* and Mehmed the Conqueror.

However, this argument should not be pushed too far. One area in which Antandros could make a significant contribution was by providing security for economic activities in the region. Almost all travellers before the late nineteenth century report that the upland areas of the Troad, and in particular Mt Ida, were home to bandits.[131] Settlements which in antiquity had been on the coast had long since moved to more secure locations to avoid piracy. Particularly striking in this regard is the testimony of Richard Pococke from his visit to the

culminating in a siege in 1304 which led to its destruction (Pachymeres, *De Andron.* 5.26–7 ed. Bekker = *Brev. Hist.* 11.26–7 ed. Failler).

[129] Horden and Purcell (2000) 89–122. [130] Horden and Purcell (2000) 90.

[131] e.g. Wood (1775) 310: July 1750—widespread rumours of banditry, but none encountered; Chandler (1775) 32, 41: August 1764—British consul attacked and severely wounded; Newton (1865) 130: January 1853—report that Admiral Spratt had been attacked on Çığrı Dağı [= Neandreia] in 1839; Senior (1859) 170: 1857/8—robbers hide out on Mt Ida; Tozer (1869) 12–13: August 1861—bandits are often Ottoman conscripts who have absconded from the Hellespontine forts; Leaf (1912b) 42–3: April–May 1911—reports of escaped convicts making for Mt Ida, but no trouble encountered. For an evocative fictional account of banditry in the nearby Kimindenia (the uplands north of the Kaikos valley) see the tale of Lazos the Turkish brigand in Elias Venezis's *Αιολική Γη* (1943, transl. L. Durrell, *Aeolia* [London 1949] 10–18). See also the remarks of Cook (1973) 379.

region in the early eighteenth century. He relates that the manufacture of goods from the woodland resources of Mt Ida was at that time no longer located where Antandros had once stood, but instead at Mytilene:

> They have a great trade in this city in building large ships and boats, with the wood of pine, which they use even to the keels of the ships; they bring the timber down from the continent, there being no place there secure from the Corsairs for the building of them. These vessels are very light, and last ten or twelve years, it being a timber full of resin, and said to be much more durable than that of Europe.[132]

As we know from Ottoman sources, these conditions had prevailed in the region since the Celali Rebellions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[133] As Mustafa Öntuğ has shown, during this period the security situation deteriorated to the point that *sancak beys* (local governors) often could not leave the capital of their own *sancak* without a military escort and had to pay off the bandits in order to govern their district.[134] These difficulties were compounded in the Balıkesir region, since the mountain fastnesses of Mt Ida and the impenetrable forests of 'rough' Mysia provided ideal boltholes for bandits, while immediate access to the Aegean allowed them to raid far and wide and find markets for the goods they seized through networks of maritime redistribution. Precisely the combination of factors which had fostered economic prosperity in antiquity therefore contributed to the spread of banditry in the Ottoman period and, as a result, plummeting population levels in the countryside and decreased economic productivity.

Whereas in the Ottoman period the region which lay beyond the state's effective control stretched as far as Ida, in antiquity it was confined to the remote forests some distance to the east in upland Mysia. The various imperial powers which found themselves in control of this region (Achaemenid, Attalid, Roman) made vigorous efforts to pacify this area through violence, negotiation, and ultimately (in the reign of Hadrian) city foundations, and their agents in this were usually local cities and their elites.[135] Such efforts were not directed at Ida, and the impression we gain from Theophrastos is not

132 Pococke (1745) 16 (my emphasis). For the wooden houses of Mytilene being built from mainland timber see likewise Newton (1865) 1:53.

133 For a recent account of the Celali rebellions in English see White (2011).

134 Öntuğ (2007) 61–92.

135 Ma (2008b) 248–50.

one of primary producers in constant fear of attack. It therefore seems that the deleterious effects of brigandage and piracy, which were such an impediment to the region's economic development for much of the Ottoman period, were mitigated in antiquity by the existence of walled towns such as Antandros.

2.8 THE INHABITANTS OF MT IDA

The evidence we find in Theophrastos reveals not just the economic life of these forests and how these woodland resources were fully integrated into the world beyond Mt Ida, but also contributes to our understanding of the social history of this region. This is seen most clearly in the kinds of knowledge which the inhabitants of Mt Ida produced about their environment. For example, Theophrastos explains that Greeks generally divide oak trees into either 'male' or 'female' varieties, or alternatively 'wild' or 'cultivated' varieties.[136] By contrast, the inhabitants of Mt Ida distinguish five different types of oak according to criteria which instead focus on the uses which can be made of each tree: How edible are its acorns, and what size, shape, and colour are they? How strong, straight-growing, and tall is its trunk? How easy is it for carpenters to work the wood? Is it best used for construction or as charcoal? Can its acorns be used for tanning? Does lichen, which can be used in perfumes, grow on its branches?[137] On occasion, function is even privileged over outward appearance: for example, Theophrastos is told that while the oak galls of the *hemeris*, *aigilops*, and *platyphyllos* varieties all look identical, only those of the *hemeris* can be used for tanning.[138] It is worth emphasizing that the inhabitants of Mt Ida were not similarly discerning with all the plants in their environment: on several occasions Theophrastos says his informants either could not answer particular questions or were evidently mistaken in their views.[139] In addition to allowing them

136 *HP* 3.8.1–2. 137 *HP* 3.8.2–7. 138 *HP* 3.8.6.

139 See Amigues (1988–2006) 2:162–3 n. 3 on *HP* 3.12.2 (Cornelian cherry) and 164 n. 9 on 3.12.3 (juniper). At *HP* 3.11.2 (maple—*περὶ ἄνθους δὲ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν*) and 3.11.4 (ash—*καρπὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἴδην οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἔχειν οὐδ᾽ ἄνθος*) it is clear that Theophrastos has asked questions of his informants for which they do not have answers. In the former case, he found the inhabitants of Mt Olympos in Macedonia to be far better informed: *HP* 3.11.2 with Amigues (1988–2006) 2:159–60 nn. 6–9.

to exploit their environment more effectively, the knowledge which they had about the flora of Mt Ida could also be put to their advantage in more underhand ways. For example, Theophrastos relates that the inhabitants of Mt Ida were in the habit of passing off the wood of yew trees as that of prickly juniper to their unsuspecting (and far less knowledgeable) customers.[140]

While it is fairly unsurprising to find primary producers viewing the productive environment according to their economic priorities, it is important to qualify this by emphasizing that the knowledge they developed about the forests of Mt Ida was not purely practical. For example, Theophrastos says that there are four varieties of plant which the inhabitants of Mt Ida consider unique to their region: the *koloitea*, the 'Alexandrian laurel', the 'Ida vine', and the 'Ida fig'.[141] As it so happens, Mt Ida is indeed home to an unusually large number of endemic species as a result of its unusual geographical position.[142] However, thanks to Theophrastos' detailed descriptions and the additional testimony of Dioskourides, it is clear that all four of the plants which the inhabitants of Mt Ida imagined to be unique to their region are in fact perfectly common species which could be found in many parts of the Mediterranean. Their claim that Mt Ida is home to unique vegetation therefore does not appear to be based on any knowledge of the actual incidence of endemics on Ida, but rather on the fact that they liked to *imagine* that their home had unique flora.[143]

140 *HP* 3.10.2. For the identifications see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:154–5 nn. 7–8.

141 *HP* 3.17.3–6 with Appendix s.vv. *ἄμπελος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην* (myrtle), *δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία* (laurel), *κολοιτέα* (willow), *συκῆ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην* (whitebeam). Sources other than Theophrastos name two other plants as unique to Ida: (1) *Rubus Idaeus* = raspberry bush (see André, *Pline XVI* 159 n. 1): according to Plin. *HN* 16.180 (*Rubus Idaeus*) and Diosk. 4.38 (*βάτος Ἰδαία*) the plant was named after Ida because that was where it was most commonly found. Curiously, even in his main discussion of the *βάτος* (*HP* 3.18.4) Theophrastos makes no mention of this. Given that Pliny and Dioskourides do not specify *which* Ida they are referring to, I wonder whether Cretan Ida was meant. (2) *herba Idaia* (Plin. *HN* 14.128), *φλόμος Ἰδαῖος* (Diosk. 5.56): André identified this with *Inula helenium* (*Pline XIV* 131 n. 3, cf. *Pline XXV* 103–4 n. 3) and rejected the idea that *I. helenium* was instead *πάνακες τὸ χειρώνειον* (*HP* 9.11.1, cf. Plin. *HN* 25.32, Diosk. 3.50). His reasons for doing so have now been successfully challenged by Amigues (1988–2006) 5:143–5 n. 4, leaving open the question of *herba Idaia*'s identity and its relationship with Ida.

142 Uysal (2010).

143 Nollé (2017) 35–47 has recently argued that the pine tree featured on various coinages of the Troad (see Figure 2.6) is the endemic *Abies* pine. However, the evidence of Theophrastos does not support this: see Appendix s.v. *ἐλάτη*.

Especially revealing in this respect is the so-called 'Alexandrian' laurel.[144] This was once thought to be a reference to the nearby city of Alexandreia Troas, however the city only received this name from Lysimachos after 301—a decade after Theophrastos had finished composing his *Enquiry into Plants*, and four decades since he had been collecting information in the region. As Suzanne Amigues has correctly seen, it instead refers to the local tradition that the judgement of Paris occurred on the 'Alexandrian' mountain in the territory of Antandros.[145] It is therefore not the plant which is unique to Mt Ida, but rather the myth—a revealing category error which indicates the extent to which, for the inhabitants of this region, vegetation just as much as topography could act as a blank canvas onto which myth and identity could be projected.[146] It would therefore seem that the forests of Mt Ida were viewed not just as an economic resource, but also as an identity. This idea of the forests as a shared identity is perhaps reflected in the prominent display of a pine tree on the coinages of Antandros, Skamandreia, and Skepsis (Figure 2.6.a–d).

[144] Plin. *HN* 15.68 and 15.131 refers to it as both a *daphne* ('laurel') and a *ficus* ('fig'), having evidently misconstrued this passage of Theophrastos: André, *Pline XV* 99–100 nn. 2–3, 122–3 n. 2.

[145] Amigues (1988–2006) 2:188–9 n. 12. See Strabo 13.1.51: *ἐντὸς δὲ ἥ τε Ἄντανδρός ἐστιν ὑπερκείμενον ἔχουσα ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅπου τὰς θεὰς κριθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος* ('Within [the Gulf of Adramytteion] is Antandros, above which is the "Alexandreian" mountain where they say that the goddesses were judged by Paris'). Compare the tribe of *Ἀλεξανδρίς* at Ilion (*I. Ilion* 121–3): Habicht (1970) 21 took this to be a reference to Alexander, but Frisch (1975) 220 is surely correct to identify it as a reference to Paris. The judgement of Paris is depicted on a spectacular issue of large bronzes produced by Skepsis in the reign of Septimius Severus (*BNF* R 3911). This presumably represents an attempt by this city on the northern slopes of Mt Ida to 'steal' the myth from its neighbour Antandros on the mountain's southern slopes.

[146] Compare Arist. *HA* 519a10–19: *μεταβάλλουσι δέ τινα τῶν ζῴων τὰς χρόας τῶν τριχῶν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων μεταβολάς . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντανδρίᾳ δὲ δύο ποταμοί εἰσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν λευκὰ ὁ δὲ μέλανα ποιεῖ τὰ πρόβατα. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ποταμὸς ξανθὰ τὰ πρόβατα ποιεῖν· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρόν φασιν ἀντὶ Σκαμάνδρου Ξάνθον προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν* ('Some animals change the colour of their hair even on account of a change in the water they drink . . . in the Antandria there are two rivers, one of which makes sheep white and the other black. It is also generally believed that the Scamander makes them yellow, and this, they say, is why Homer calls it the Yellow River [i.e. Xanthos] instead of Scamander'—Loeb translation). Likewise, shepherds in the Lykos valley believed they could guarantee the raven black colour of their sheep's wool by making the pregnant sheep drink from the river: see Vitr. 8.3.14 (also mentioning the Xanthos) and Strabo 12.8.16 with Thonemann (2011) 187. However, in the Antandria the primary producers take this further and intertwine a widespread folk belief with Homeric myth, even to the extent of transposing the Xanthos/Scamander from its actual location north of Ida to the mountain's southern flank in order to be able to place it within the Antandria.

Figure 2.6. (a) Silver drachm, Antandros, 350s BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 474. (b) Silver drachm, Skepsis, 350s BC. *Roma Numismatics* 11 (7 April 2016) 294. (c) Small bronze coin, Skamandreia, fourth/third century BC. *ANS* 1970.142.379. (d) Large bronze coin, Skamandreia, fourth/third century BC. *BM* RPK, p149C.1.Sce = *BMC Troas* 79,1.

(a) Source © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>. (b) © Roma Numismatics Ltd (<http://romanumismatics.com/>). (c) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (d) © Trustees of the British Museum.

Indeed, a pine tree is the civic badge of Skepsis—it appeared on almost all of the city's autonomous coinage and was stamped onto its weights.[147] Similarly, Skamandreia produced bronzes with a female head identified as the nymph Ide and a pine cone as its types, and the coins of Antandros, Kebren, and Skamandreia all featured animals associated with the mountain milieu (goats, rams, and boars respectively). In addition, worship of Zeus Idaios is attested at Skepsis in the Imperial period by an inscription referring to a priest of this cult and is depicted on coins of the late second and early third century AD at both Skepsis and Ilion.[148]

Finally, it is perhaps significant that Theophrastos never refers to his informants by their city ethnic, and instead repeatedly uses the seemingly banal phrase, 'the inhabitants of Mt Ida' (*οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην*). While this may be no more than a descriptive term, it is also worth entertaining the possibility that the people who lived and worked on Mt Ida really did view themselves as having a two-fold identity—citizens of whichever lowland polis they hailed from, but also members of this society up in the forests of Mt Ida which cross-cut civic loyalties.

2.9 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have used Mt Ida to show how the environmental heterogeneity of the Troad helped to integrate different areas with one another and thus to promote the overall coherence of this region. The symbiotic relationship between the forests of Mt Ida and the lowland areas of the Troad is most clearly apparent in their economic relationships with one another. As the testimony of Theophrastos in the *Enquiry into Plants* indicates, there was economic activity occurring right the way up the mountain, from the olive groves in the foothills to the carefully managed pine forests just below the summit.

[147] For the identification of the tree as a pine or fir, not a palm, see Imhoof–Blumer (1883) 267. For the lead weight stamped with this symbol found near Evciler (a short distance from Skepsis) see Cook (1973) 297 with Plate 45c.

[148] Priest of Zeus Idaios at Skepsis: Robert, *OMS* 2:885–7. Coinage (all *RPC* 4 numbers are temporary): *RPC* 4.8407 (Skepsis, AD *c.*177–180), 4.204, 4.207 (Skepsis, AD *c.*180–182), 4.104 (Ilion, AD *c.*149–175), Bellinger T 224 (Ilion, Julia Domna), T 242 (Ilion, Caracalla), T 258 (Ilion, Geta).

Access to these resources helped Antandros to develop a reputation for shipbuilding and its port of Aspaneus to become a centre for the wholesale distribution of timber. Comparative evidence from the nineteenth and twentieth century suggests that the presence of the Scamander on one side and the Aegean on the other helped further encourage the integration of these forests into the economic life of the lowland Troad by reducing transport costs. Equally, evidence for the existence of overland routes criss-crossing the interior of the Troad show that, while Mt Ida could certainly be a barrier to movement in the winter months when snow blocked off the passes, this was not the case in the rest of the year. Thus, a city such as Skepsis, which is surrounded on three sides by forested mountains and so appears to be marooned in the central Troad, actually needs to be thought of as being at a crossroads in the connective geography of this part of Asia Minor, the point where routes converge from the Dardanelles to the north, Alexandreia Troas to the west, the Gulf of Adramytteion to the south, and the plain around Lake Daskylitis to the east.

This picture of the forests of Mt Ida as being accessible, carefully managed, and heavily integrated into the lowland economy of the Troad is, however, at odds with the general perception of these forests which we encounter in the literary sources which instead depict it as an uninhabited margin hostile to human life. While in the case of some of the literary sources written by elite, city-dwelling individuals with little direct knowledge of this environment this may be the result of ignorance, the same cannot be said for Theophrastos' informants, or the worshippers at the various sanctuaries of Cybele around the mountain, or, in more recent times, the Tahtacı Turkmen. Rather than dismiss this perception as simply being incorrect and therefore of no interest, we instead need to understand what 'work' these ideas about the forests of Mt Ida were performing. After all, these ideas are further evidence for how Mt Ida was not a neglected and marginalized space in the Troad, but rather a space which was integrated as much into the social, cultural, and religious imaginary of the region's inhabitants as it was into their economic life. Indeed, just as I have argued that environmental heterogeneity promotes economic integration, so one might argue that it is the very differentness of the forests of Mt Ida from the lowland world below them that helped them play this out-sized role in the lives and imaginations even of people who had no direct economic relationship to the mountain.

APPENDIX: THE FLORA OF MT IDA IN THEOPHRASTOS' *ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS*

ALPHA

ἄμπελος (*HP* 4.5.4)—vine

Vitis vinifera L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:267–8).

Notes. One of five plants said to be common on Mt Tmolos (Boz Dağı) and Mt Olympos (Ulu Dağı) but rare or absent from Mt Ida (for the other four plants see below s.vv. διοσβάλανος, καρύα, μηλέα, ῥόα). As Amigues (1988–2006) 2:236 n. 15 explains: 'Théophraste ne paraît pas avoir soupçonné l'influence de la nature chimique du sol sur la vegetation. La présence de zones calcaires étendues dans l'Ida de Troade en exclut l'espèce typiquement calcifuge qu'est le châtaignier [= διοσβάλανος].'

ἄμπελος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην (*HP* 3.17.6)—myrtle

Vaccinium myrtillus L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:190 n. 15, 5:268).

Notes. One of four plants incorrectly said to be endemic to Mt Ida (for the other three see below s.vv. δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία, κολοιτέα, συκῆ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην).

The plant is said to be found περὶ [δὲ] τὰς Φαλάκρας, one of the three peaks of Mt Ida (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:190–1 n. 15).

ἄρκευθος—see below s.v. κέρδος.

DELTA

δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία (*HP* 1.10.8, 3.17.4)—laurel

Ruscus hypoglossum L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 1:103 n. 27, 2:189 n. 13, 5:278; cf. Amigues [2010] 29 n. 59 arguing against identification with the more widespread *Ruscus aculeatus* L.).

Notes. One of four plants incorrectly said to be endemic to Mt Ida (for the other three see s.vv. ἄμπελος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην, κολοιτέα, συκῆ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην).

'Alexandrian' does not refer to the city of Alexandreia Troas but rather to a peak in the territory of Antandros named for being the site of the judgement of Paris (who was also known as Alexander): Amigues (1988–2006) 2:188–9 n. 12. For another plant associated with this place see below s.v. *πυρὸς ὁ ἀλεξάνδρειος*. For the other information Theophrastos collected at Antandros see *HP* 2.2.6, 4.16.2, 5.6.1.

διοσβάλανος (*H.P.* 4.5.4)—sweet chestnut

Castanea sativa Miller (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:278).

Notes. See above s.v. *ἄμπελος*. The *καρύα ἡ εὐβοϊκή* (below) is the same plant.

δρῦς (*HP* 3.8.2–7)—oak

For the five varieties distinguished on Mt Ida see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:144–9 nn. 4–22 and Amigues (2010) 79–83 nn. 51–8 with figs 40–50.

(1) *δρῦς ἡ ἡμερίς—Aleppo oak*

Quercus infectoria Olivier.

(2) *δρῦς ἡ αἰγίλωψ—English oak*

Quercus pedunculiflora C. Koch (very close to *Q. robur* L. ssp. and replaces it in NW Turkey and parts of Greece).

(3) *δρῦς ἡ πλατύφυλλος*

Quercus frainetto Ten.

(4) *δρῦς ἡ φηγός—valonia/palamut oak*

Quercus ithaburensis ssp. *macrolepis* Kotschy (in older literature *Q. aegilops* L.).

(5) *δρῦς ἡ ἁλίφλοιος/εὐθύφλοιος*

Quercus cerris L. (more precisely var. *haliphloeos* Lamk.).

For the etymology of the ἁλι- element (nothing to do with the sea) see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:145 n. 8.

EPSILON

ἐλάτη (*HP* 3.6.5)—fir

Abies Miller ssp. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:281–2).

Notes. In Turkey, the species of *Abies* found on Mt Ida (*A. nordmanniana* Spach ssp. *equi-trojani*) is considered endemic to the mountain and the subpopulation on Ulu Dağı (*A. bornmuelleriana* Mattf.) a separate but closely related species.[149] Although these firs are therefore a genuine endemic of Mt Ida (unlike the other plants which Theophrastos incorrectly considers endemics) and will have been mixed in with the 'Ida' pines he discusses at length (see below s.v. πεύκη), he shows no awareness of this distinction (Amigues [2010] 75 n. 32, *pace* Nollé [2017] 35–47). This is not altogether surprising: *Abies* pines are mostly confined to the top of the mountain (1,000–1,400 m on the northern slopes) and are thus located several hundred metres above where the black pine (= 'Ida' pine) and Aleppo/Turkish pine (= 'shore' pine) are to be found. Given that these latter two varieties were in comparatively more accessible parts of the mountain, it makes sense that the lumberjacks to whom Theophrastos spoke were highly familiar with these varieties but failed to distinguish the *Abies* pines.

ZETA

ζυγία (*HP* 3.11.1–2)—maple

Acer platanoides L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:158 n. 2, 5:286, 338–9).

Notes. See also below s.v. σφένδαμνος.

THETA

θηλυκράνεια—see below s.v. κράνεια ἡ ἄρρεν

[149] See <http://www.iucnredlist.org/details/31325/0> (accessed 12 July 2016).

KAPPA

καρύα (*HP* 3.6.5, 4.5.4)—hazel

Corylus avellana L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:287, 295).

Notes. See above s.v. *ἄμπελος*. Referred to as *ἡ ἡρακλεωτική* at *HP* 3.6.5.

καρύα ἡ εὐβοϊκή (*HP* 5.6.1)—sweet chestnut

Castanea sativa Miller (Amigues [1988–2006] 3:85 n. 4, 5:295).

Notes. The *διοσβάλανος* (above) is the same plant.

κέδρος (*HP* 3.6.5, 3.12.3)—juniper

Juniperus L. ssp. (Amigues [1988–2006] 164–5 nn. 9–10, 5:296).

Notes. Further precision as to the subspecies being described and the distinction between *ἄκρευθος* and *κέδρος* is difficult since Theophrastos' description appears to have mixed in characteristics belonging to *J. communis* L. ssp. *hemisphaerica*, *J. oxycedrus* L, and *J. phoenicea* L, of which the latter is not found in this region.

κλήθρα (*HP* 3.6.5)—alder

Alnus glutiosa (L.) Gaertner (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:299).

κοκκυμηλέα (*HP* 3.6.5)—plum

Prunus domestica L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:300).

κολοιτέα (*HP* 3.17.3)—willow

Salix idea Görz (~ *S. caprea* L.) (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:187–8 n. 7, 5:300).

Notes. One of four plants incorrectly said to be endemic to Mt Ida (for the other three see s.vv. *ἄμπελος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην*, *δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία*, *συκῆ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην*).

κράνεια ἡ ἄρρεν/θηλυκράνεια (*HP* 3.12.1–2)—cornelian cherry

Cornus mas L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:162–3 n. 3, 5:288, 302).

MU

μελία (*HP* 3.6.5, 3.11.4)—ash

Fraxinus angustifolia Vahl (= *F. oxyphylla* Bieb.) (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:161 n. 17, 5:311).

μεσπίλη (*HP* 3.12.5–6)

(1) μεσπίλη ἡ ἀνθηδών and ἡ ἀνθήδονοειδής—*Crategus* L. ssp.

(2) μεσπίλη ἡ σητάνειος—*Mespilus germanica* L.

Notes. The inhabitants of Mt Ida distinguish three types of μεσπίλη, two of which appear to be varieties of hawthorn (*Crategus* L. ssp.) and one of which appears to be a common medlar (*Mespilus germanica* L.). Amigues (1988–2006) 2:165–6 n. 15 (cf. 5:312) canvasses various possibilities for identifying the subspecies of hawthorn, but eventually concludes: 'L'état lacunaire du texte et de nos renseignements (aucune flore ne mentionne la couleur des feuilles en autonne) ne permet pas une détermination précise.'

μηλέα (*HP* 4.5.4)—apple

Malus domestica Borkh. (cultivated), *M. sylvestris* Miller (wild) (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:313).

Notes. See above s.v. ἄμπελος.

μίλος (*HP* 3.10.2)—yew

Taxus baccata L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:314).

Notes. For the people of Ida passing this off as cedar see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:154 n. 7.

μυρρίνη (*HP* 2.2.6)—myrtle

Myrtus communis L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 1:122 n. 12, 5:315).

OMICRON

ὀξύη (*HP* 3.6.5)—beech

Fagus sylvatica L. vel sim. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:318).

PI

πεύκη (*HP* 3.9.1–5, 9.2.5–8)—pine

For discussion of these passages see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:149–51 nn. 1–9, 5:76–7 nn. 12–21, and 5:322–3 with Amigues (2010) 83–4, figs 51 (black pine) and 52 (Aleppo pine) and 328–9, figs 8–9 (pine tree being tapped).

(1) *πεύκη ἡ Ἰδαία*—Pinus nigra *Arnold subsp.* Pallasiana (*black pine*).

(2) *πεύκη ἡ παραλία*—either *Pinus halepensis* Miller (Aleppo pine) or its close relative *Pinus brutia* Ten. (Turkish pine).

Notes. As discussed above (see s.v. *ἐλάτη*), it is possible that Theophrastos and/or his informants have subsumed *Abies* firs under the category *πεύκη ἡ Ἰδαία*.

πλάτανος (*HP* 4.16.2)—plane

Platanus orientalis L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:325).

πτελέα (*HP* 3.14.1)—elm

Ulmus L. spp. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:326–7).

πυρὸς ὁ ἀλεξάνδρειος (*HP* 8.4.3)—wheat

Notes. The identity of this plant is unclear: Amigues (1988–2006) 4:201 n. 17, 5:328, Amigues (2010) 307 n. 39. For the likely meaning of the epithet ‘Alexandrian’ see above s.v. *δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία*.

RHO

ῥόα (*HP* 4.5.4)—pomegranate

Punica granatum L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:330).
Notes. See above s.v. *ἄμπελος*.

SIGMA

συκῆ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην (*HP* 3.17.5)—whitebeam

Sorbus Graeca (Spach) Kotschy (= *S. cretica* Lindley) (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:189–90 n. 14, 5:338).
Notes. One of four plants incorrectly said to be endemic to Mt Ida (for the other three see above s.vv. *ἄμπελος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην*, *δάφνη ἡ ἀλεξανδρεία*, *κολοιτέα*).

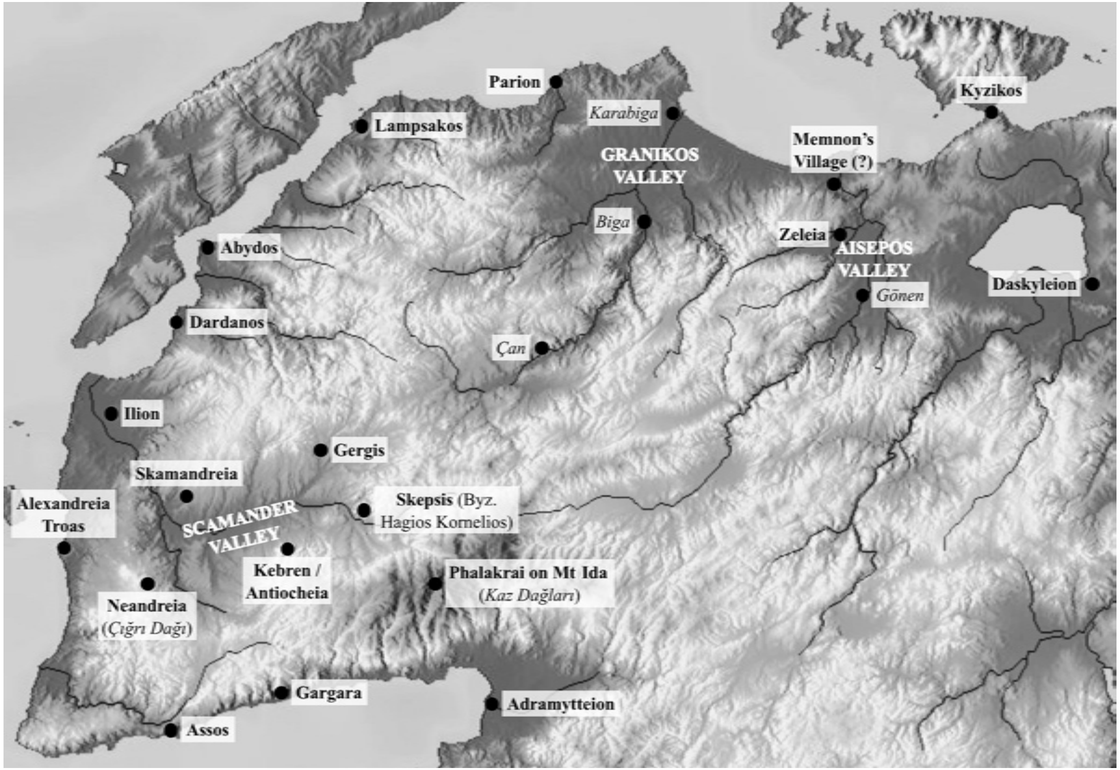
σφένδαμνος (*HP* 3.6.5)—maple

Acer L. spp. (Amigues [1988–2006] 5:338–9).
Notes. See also above s.v. *ζυγία*.

TAU

τέρμινθος (*HP* 3.15.3–4)—terebinth

Pistacia terebinthus L. (Amigues [1988–2006] 2:176 n. 9, 5:339–40).



Map 3.1. Hellespontine Phrygia.

3

Horse Husbandry and Empire in the Middle Scamander Valley

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have sought to establish the human and geographical factors which promoted regional integration within the Troad in antiquity, but only in passing have they touched on the politics and power dynamics latent in this process. In the contemporary context of proliferating free trade agreements, expanding political unions, and a consensus among many policy makers that regional integration is the means by which peace, stability, and prosperity can be achieved, it is perhaps tempting to view historical examples of regional integration as inherently positive and self-evidently representative of progress. However, it is also worth noting that, when issues of political sovereignty, economic advantage, and communal self-definition are at stake in processes of regional integration, they can also prompt significant hostility and resistance.[1] This is not to argue that the benefits of regional integration are not real (they most certainly are), but rather that histories of regional integration which only focus on the benefits and overlook resistance to regional integration and the roots of that resistance are only telling half the story. As we saw in Chapter 1, while co-operation in the koinon of Athena Ilias could deliver a variety of benefits to participating cities, its institutions were carefully designed to prevent it becoming a vehicle for political hegemony, and even despite this member states remained keenly aware of the relative prominence of

[1] For the literature on these issues in contemporary discussions of EU regional integration see Introduction 0.3, n. 19.

Ilion within this organization and appear to have expressed their jealousy through attempts to contest Ilion's claim to the lion's share of the Homeric legacy. In this case, the cities apparently recognized that there was a danger that regional rivalries could unravel the koinon and thus took measures to manage the tensions inherent to regional integration. However, it is important to remember that alongside 'success stories' such as the koinon of Athena Ilias there were also processes of regional integration which were politically unequal, economically exploitative, and produced not only winners but also losers.

In the Classical period, the middle Scamander valley was home to at least six poleis which appear to have been prospering. By the time of the Peace of Apameia, however, only Skepsis was left, and Skepsis herself had briefly been part of Antigonos Monophthalmos' synoikism of Antigoneia Troas before Lysimachos restored the city's independence *c.*301. In part, this reflects a more general process of consolidation across the Greek world in the Hellenistic period whereby smaller cities were absorbed into larger cities. However, in the Troad, while there are examples of both coastal and inland cities being absorbed, it was only coastal cities who did the absorbing. For example, Skepsis' former neighbours, Gergis and Kebren, were absorbed not into Skepsis as one might expect given their geographical proximity, but into the distant coastal cities of Ilion and Alexandreia Troas respectively. While the changed political circumstances of the Hellenistic period certainly played a role in this process, with Ilion on several occasions expanding its territory through the help of Hellenistic kings and Roman statesmen and Alexandreia Troas being a synoikism performed at royal direction, these events are better understood as the culmination of a relationship between the coastal and inland areas of the Troad which had been becoming increasingly unequal throughout the Classical period.[2]

In order to illustrate both the great economic potential of the middle Scamander valley and the growing political disenfranchisement of this region, this chapter will explore the case of a major royal horse stud set up by the Persians in the middle Scamander valley and continued by Alexander and his early successors. Horse-breeding on the scale required by states the size of the Persian Empire and its

[2] See Boehm (2018) 56–65 for a recent account of this process, which, however, differs from the account given below on a number of points.

Macedonian successors would have had a variety of deleterious effects on the local economy. As a result, this represents a choice of how to make use of the significant resources of this region which the inhabitants of the middle Scamander valley would never have made for themselves, and therefore speaks to their growing political marginalization. As we shall see in the final part of the chapter, this process of gradual disenfranchisement in the region, which is exemplified by the creation of a royal horse stud, can also be traced in the scattered archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic, and literary sources for the middle Scamander valley in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.

3.2 THE ROYAL HERDS AROUND MT IDA

3.2.1 Eumenes on Mt Ida

In his *Life of Eumenes*, Plutarch includes the following anecdote about his protagonist which relates to events in the early summer of 320 BC.[3]

> *ἐπεὶ δ' Εὐμενὴς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἱπποφορβίοις περὶ τὴν Ἴδην νεμομένοις ἐπιτυχὼν καὶ λαβὼν ἵππους ὅσων ἔχρῃζε τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς τὴν γραφὴν ἔπεμψε, λέγεται γελάσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι θαυμάζει τὸν Εὐμενῆ τῆς προνοίας, ἐλπίζοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. περὶ δὲ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐβούλετο μὲν ἱπποκρατῶν ὁ Εὐμενὴς τοῖς Λυδῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι πεδίοις, ἅμα καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδεῖξαι φιλοτιμούμενος· αὐτῆς δ' ἐκείνης δεηθείσης (ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ αἰτίαν τινὰ λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον), ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν καὶ διεχείμαζεν ἐν Κελαιναῖς.*
>
> When Eumenes had fallen in with the royal horse herds that were pasturing about Mt Ida and had taken as many horses as he wanted, he sent a written statement of this to the administrative overseers (*ἐπιμεληταί*); at this it is said that Antipater laughed and said that he admired Eumenes for his forethought, since he evidently expected to give an account of the royal properties to them, or to receive one from them. Now that he had the upper hand in cavalry (*ἱπποκρατῶν*), Eumenes

[3] All dates for the Successor period follow the chronology of Boiy (2007) with the modifications of Meuss (2012). Previous discussions of the passage are only fleeting, e.g. a short mention in Rostovtzeff (1923) 366–7 (suggesting continued use into the Attalid period, but on no direct evidence; see e.g. the doubts of Magie [1950] 2:802–3 n. 22), Bengtson (1937–52) 1:175, Briant (1982) 58 n. 4, Schäfer (2002) 99–100, Anson (2004) 118–19.

> wanted to give battle in the plains of the Lydians around Sardis,[4] and at the same time was ambitious to display his power to Kleopatra. But at her request, since she feared giving Antipater any cause for complaint, he marched away into upper Phrygia and wintered at Kelainai.[5]

Eumenes was a native of Kardia in the Thracian Chersonese, the modern Gallipoli Peninsula, and must therefore have been well-acquainted with the Troad from an early age. He rose to become Alexander's secretary, and after the conqueror's death in June 323 became embroiled in the wars of the Successors until his death early in 316 at the hands of Antigonos Monophthalmos.[6] After being made satrap of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia in 323, he was drawn into conflict with two seasoned Macedonian generals, Krateros and Neoptolemos, against whom he won a decisive victory in Hellespontine Phrygia in spring 320. It is following this that he marched west into the Troad and encountered the royal herds around Mt Ida. While this anecdote evidently has much to offer Plutarch as a biographer in terms of revealing Eumenes' character to the reader, we have no particular reason to doubt its reliability, since Plutarch's primary source is thought to have been the history of Hieronymos of Kardia, a contemporary and kinsman of Eumenes with first-hand knowledge of his career.[7]

Even the little which we learn about the royal herds from this passage is revealing. For example, it is clear that these horses were being reared primarily as warhorses rather than just as draught or transport animals, since access to these herds prompts Eumenes to seek out a major cavalry engagement in 'the plains of the Lydians around Sardis'. The scale of these royal herds is obviously significant, since they were able to satisfy the needs of a dynast who two years earlier had raised a 6,300-strong cavalry force in Cappadocia.[8]

[4] Presumably the Kastolos Plain.

[5] Plut. *Eum.* 8.3–4 (adapted from the Loeb).

[6] For his life see Westlake (1969) and most recently Schäfer (2002) and Anson (2004).

[7] On the composition of Plutarch's *Eumenes* see in general Bosworth (1992) and Geiger (1995) and for his priorities in this particular passage Schäfer (2002) 99–100. For Hieronymos as the source see Hornblower (1981) 196–211 and Roisman (2010). For discussion of other possible sources see Bosworth (1992) 57. I am not convinced of the need to posit an 'apologetic' source for Eumenes' life in addition to Hieronymos, *pace* Hadley (2001).

[8] Schäfer (2002) 100 argues that Plutarch has chronologically misplaced this episode on the grounds that Eumenes would not need more cavalry at this point. However, as Bengtson (1937–52) 1:175 correctly saw, it was not cavalry so much as mounts that Eumenes was after. As will become apparent from the argument below

Moreover, these warhorses were apparently earmarked for use in the Macedonian cavalry, as is indicated by their royal status and the fact that it is Antipater's *epimeletai* who administer them.[9] While there is of course a great deal more which we would like to know about the royal herds around Mt Ida than what we learn from this brief passage, it is nevertheless clear that the presence of these royal herds constitutes a significant fact about the history of the middle Scamander valley in this period and thus deserves our attention.

However, in order to gauge the precise impact of these royal herds on the local economy and their broader implications for the political history of the region, we first need to establish four key facts. The first two relate specifically to the Troad: (1) at what time were the royal herds around Mt Ida established? (2) where 'around Mt Ida' (*περὶ τὴν Ἴδην*) were these herds located? The second two questions relate instead to the practicalities of maintaining royal horse herds and thus to the relative impact they would have had on the local economy: (3) given the requirements of horse rearing for military purposes, what was the likely size of these herds? Finally, (4) what kind of environment is best suited to horse rearing on this scale, and where can this be found within the Troad?

3.2.2 The Creation of the Royal Herds

Taken on its own, the Plutarch passage only indicates that there were royal herds around Mt Ida in the early summer of 320, not how long before this point they had existed. It would therefore seem to be an open question whether they were an innovation following Alexander's victory at the Granikos in May 334, or instead an administrative arrangement carried over from the Achaemenid period. If, as I shall argue, the decision to locate this royal stud in the middle Scamander valley is indicative of it becoming politically disenfranchised, then whether the

(see section 3.2.3), Schäfer has failed to appreciate a cavalry force's constant need to replenish its supply of mounts, especially after major battles.

9 I assume that they are *epimeletai* at Pella with Antipater rather than at the royal stud because (1) Eumenes has to send (*ἔπεμψε*) the written statement to them, (2) Antipater would be less likely to see this written statement if it were given to *epimeletai* in a region no longer under his control, (3) the point of the story is to illustrate the audacity of Eumenes, hence it is more appropriate to imagine Eumenes cheekily filing his expense claims with the administrators of his sworn enemy.

creation of this stud dates to before or after Alexander's conquests will indicate whether this was a new development of the early Hellenistic period or instead a more long-standing issue. On balance, the burden of evidence suggests that the royal herds were set up during the period of Persian rule. The key evidence is provided by the cavalry force which accompanies Memnon of Rhodes at the Battle of the Granikos.

Arrian says that Memnon and his sons fought with 'the flower of the Persian cavalry' (*τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου*).[10] Here Arrian is speaking somewhat loosely. As Michael Charles has recently demonstrated, the Persian Empire maintained a relatively small standing cavalry force and relied instead on local levies to provide the bulk of its cavalry.[11] Given the fact that the forces arrayed at the Granikos were a satrapal not a royal army, 'Persian' here will therefore mean 'fighting for Persia' not 'ethnically Persian'. This is further supported by Diodorus, who adds the detail that Memnon and the satrap of Cilicia, Arsames, were in fact commanding 'their own cavalry' (*τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππεῖς*).[12] As regards Cilicia, this agrees with the statement in Herodotus that part of the satrapy's tax arrangement with the Persians was to spend about a third of their tribute on maintaining their cavalry.[13] If we look at the other two satraps, Arsites from Hellespontine Phrygia commands cavalry from the neighbouring region of Paphlagonia, while Spithridates from Ionia commands Hyrcanians, whom the Persians had settled in his satrapy in military colonies in the Kastolos Plain of Lydia. It is therefore clear that each satrap brought cavalry from their own satrapy rather than from elsewhere. A large proportion of the best units which made up Memnon's cavalry force of 20,000 (according to Arrian/Ptolemy) or more than 10,000 (according to Diodorus/Kleitarchos) will therefore have been drawn from wherever his area of responsibility was within the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia.[14]

10 Arr. *Anab.* 1.15.2.

11 Charles (2015).

12 Diod. 17.19.4. Diodorus instead calls him Arsamenes, but the same individual is meant: see Heckel (2006) s.v. Arsames (1).

13 Cilician tribute: Hdt. 3.90.3 with Asheri et al. (2007) 483–4. In 1 *Kings* 10:28 and 2 *Chronicles* 1:16–17 Quwê (Cilicia Pedias) is said to export horses throughout the Near East (e.g. to Solomon, the Hittites, and the Aramaians), while seventh-century Assyrian sources refer to it as 'the land of horses' (Casabonne [2004] 34).

14 Arr. *Anab.* 1.14.4, Diod. 17.19.4 (*πλείους τῶν μυρίων*). See further Tuplin (2010) 153–6. Already in Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.1 (*c.*399) the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, Pharnabazos, is said to be strong in cavalry.

The evidence for the career of Memnon makes it clear that, within this satrapy, his area of responsibility was only ever the Troad. Memnon and his brother Mentor first came to the Troad in 363/2 via the patronage of Artabazos who had been appointed satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia in that year. By at least 361/0 (and perhaps already in 363/2) they had been put in control of Ilion in the Trojan Plain and Skepsis and Kebren in the middle Scamander valley.[15] An undated anecdote in Book 2 of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oeconomica* attests Memnon ruling over Lampsakos at some point, and it has recently been shown that in the mid-350s Memnon minted silver and bronze coinage at Lampsakos (Figure 3.1.a) with the types of their homeland (a head of Helios on the obverse and a Rhodian-style rose on the reverse) and the letters M-E (most probably referring to Memnon), E-Y, and N-I (referring to subordinates whose identities are lost to us).[16] Memnon was probably also responsible for Lampsakos minting an issue of gold staters at precisely this time with a head of Helios as the obverse type (Figure 3.1.b).[17] Another series of silver and bronze coinage produced by an unidentified mint in the Troad in the 350s has a head of Athena as the obverse type, an archaic cult statue of Athena Ilias as the reverse type, and in left field on the reverse a Rhodian-style rose (Figure 3.1.c). Since roses do not really feature in the coin iconography of the Troad, this unusual image combined with the coincidence in date makes one suspect that these coins are also related to the activities of Memnon.[18]

Memnon supported Artabazos in his revolt from the king *c.*356–353/2, and accompanied Artabazos when he fled to the court of Philip II in 353/2.[19] Following a reconciliation with Artaxerxes III, Memnon and his brother Mentor returned to the Troad in the service of the king in 342.[20] In the following years Memnon acquired significant estates in the Granikos valley, but it is clear that his administrative

[15] Dem. 23.154–7.

[16] Ps-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.1351b1–19. For the coinage see Ashton (1990) for a die study, Ashton (2002) for the attribution to the brothers during their time in the Troad, and now Ellis-Evans (2018) 37–42 for the date and an argument for Memnon alone being responsible for these coins.

[17] Baldwin (1924) 26 no. 23.

[18] See Ellis-Evans (2018) 57–8 for the possibility that Memnon minted these coins at either Sigeion or Ilion (on balance, the latter possibility is stronger).

[19] Diod. 16.34.1–2.

[20] Diod. 16.52.1–4.

Figure 3.1. (a) Silver drachm, Lampsakos under Memnon, 350s BC. *BNF* 1966.453.2781 = *SNG Delepierre* 2781. (b) Gold stater, Lampsakos under Memnon, 350s BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 738 = *SNG Paris* 1147. (c) Silver drachm, unidentified Troas mint (Ilion under Memnon?), 350s BC. ANS 1950.191.20.

(a and b) Source © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>. (c) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

responsibilities were still to the west in the Troad.[21] For example, in 335 Darius ordered Memnon to cross Ida (*προῆγε διὰ τῆς Ἴδης*) and seize Kyzikos, implying that Memnon and his forces were based west of

[21] Polyain. 4.3.15, Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.8. See also Strabo 13.1.11: *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Αἰσήπου σχεδόν τι . . . σταδίοις κολωνὸς ἔστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τάφος δείκνυται Μέμνονος τοῦ Τιθωνοῦ· πλησίον δ' ἔστι καὶ ἡ Μέμνονος κώμη* ('About . . . stadia above the outlet of the Aisepos River is a hill, where is shown the tomb of Memnon, son of Tithonos; and nearby is the village of Memnon'). The number of *stadia* has dropped out of the MSS,

the Ida range in the Troad.[22] So, while Memnon acquired property elsewhere in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia, he was only ever responsible for the Troad. A similar arrangement had existed *c.*400 when Pharnabazos, the satrap at Daskyleion, had likewise devolved responsibility for running the Troad to a local ‘sub-satrap’, in that case the Dardanian dynast Zenis and subsequently his wife Mania.[23]

It is therefore relatively clear that, while there are other places suitable for large-scale horse-rearing in Hellespontine Phrygia (e.g. the Granikos valley and the Daskylitis in the eastern half of the satrapy), Memnon’s cavalry came from the Troad, and thus from the only part of the Troad capable of sustaining large-scale horse rearing, the middle Scamander valley. In turn, the fact that Memnon could field a cavalry force which was equal in both numbers and quality to forces levied in the much larger horse-producing regions of Cilicia, Paphlagonia, and Lydia implies a concerted program of large-scale horse breeding in the Troad and then intensive training of these animals to turn them into warhorses. The capacity of Memnon to deliver a large cavalry force to the Granikos at short notice thus very strongly suggests that the royal herds which Eumenes encountered in 320 had already existed in the period of Achaemenid rule pre-334 (although when in the Classical period they were set up we cannot say). We know that the Persian Empire frequently requested horses as tribute from horse-producing regions. Indeed, in 333 when Alexander was at Aspendos in Pamphylia we hear that he ordered such an arrangement to continue.[24] Thus, when in 334 Alexander ordered

perhaps via haplography, e.g. *τι π′* or *τι τί* (I thank Graham Shipley for this suggestion). Judeich (1892) 300–1, Berve (1926) 2:251, no. 497, and Brunt (1976–83) 1:73 n. 5 all assume this is a reference to the historical Memnon. However, Radt (2002–11) 7:457 and J. Scherf, *BNP* s.v. Memnon (1) instead link it to the mythological king of Aithiopia whom Achilles killed in the Trojan War and whose burial site, according to one tradition, was beside the Aisepos (Hes. fr. 353 M-W, Quint. Smyr. 2.585–7). The two interpretations are not necessarily incompatible. Achaemenid-era local elites in the Granikos valley were buried on their estates in tumuli which recall the Bronze Age burials in the Trojan Plain which Greeks associated with the Trojan Wars. One can easily imagine a scenario in which the origin of the toponym ‘Memnon’s Village’ faded from memory and so came to be interpreted in mythological terms. For further examples of places named after their original proprietor see Thonemann (2006) 35–6.

[22] Diod. 17.7.3. For a discussion of the different definitions of Ida see section 3.2.4 below.

[23] Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10–28.

[24] Horses as tribute: Hyland (2003) 120–1. Aspendos: Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.3–27.4 with Chandezon (2014a) 163 and n. 109.

Hellespontine Phrygia's inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they had previously paid to Darius, this presumably also re-confirmed the royal status of the herds on Mt Ida.[25]

3.2.3 The Size of the Royal Herds

No source directly indicates the size of these herds, but a minimum estimate can be made on the basis of the force Memnon fielded at the Granikos. Diodorus does not specify the size of Memnon's force, saying instead that he shared the left wing with contingents commanded by Arsames, Arsites, and Spithridates. The total size of these four contingents can, however, be inferred from what he says about the right wing, which will have been of comparable size: this consisted of 1,000 Median cavalry, 2,000 cavalry under Rheomithres, and 2,000 Baktrian cavalry, giving a total of 5,000.[26] Of the four commanders on the left wing, Memnon was the one whose forces were based closest to the battlefield, and we should therefore expect his contingent to have at least equalled (if not exceeded) the others in size: this suggests a figure of 1,000–2,000 cavalry fielded.

However, the total size of the royal herds around Mt Ida will have been several times larger than the cavalry force which Memnon could field at the Granikos. Firstly, each cavalryman would have had at least one remount, with wealthier cavalrymen and higher status individuals even having several.[27] Cavalrymen frequently asked a great deal of their mounts, which inevitably resulted in a high rate of injury, sickness, and exhaustion in the horses and thus the need for replacements.[28] Secondly, if the Persian Empire was indeed using the royal horse herds around Mt Ida to breed war horses, then the horses which Memnon used to mount his cavalry and provide them with remounts will only have been a proportion of the total, not the entire stud. This suggests that, if the figures in Diodorus are accurate, then a conservative estimate of the size of this

25 Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.1. 26 Diod. 17.19.4.

27 See Chandezon (2014a) 161 with n. 75 and 158–9 for Alexander using several different mounts in the course of a single battle. As an example of how typical this practice is, note Xenophon putting together a scratch unit of cavalry from (*inter alia*) the remounts which the Thracian cavalry had left behind when they deserted: Xen. *Anab.* 2.2.7 (Thracians desert), 3.3.16–20 (Xenophon's proposal, esp. §19).

28 Chandezon (2014a) 161.

stud would be around 5,000 horses. Alternatively, if the much higher figures in Arrian are correct then the stud might have been as large as 10,000 horses.

These rough estimates are broadly in line with the figures we have for the size of Alexander's own cavalry force relative to the horse herds which sustained them. When Philip II first came to power in the 350s, Macedon could only field 600–800 cavalry, about equivalent to what the wealthiest of the city-states such as Athens and Sparta could manage in the Classical period.[29] By contrast, by the time Alexander invaded Asia Minor in 334 this cavalry force had grown to *c.*5,000 which, as Christophe Chandezon notes, means at least 10,000 warhorses when we take remounts into account.[30] However, the numbers needed to sustain this massive expansion of the Macedonian cavalry were many times greater, for example the 20,000 Skythian mares which Philip drove back to Macedonia for breeding purposes in 339 alone.[31] The figures we have for other imperial studs are on a similar scale. Herodotus mentions an Achaemenid-era stud in Babylonia which, in addition to an unspecified number of warhorses, allegedly consisted of 800 stallions and 16,000 brood mares.[32] Arrian describes Alexander passing through the Nisaian Plain in Media in 324 and repeats the claim, presumably found in his eye-witness source Aristoboulos, that the plain had once supported 150,000 mares, but since the collapse of Persian authority all but 50,000 had been driven off by brigands.[33] Finally, Appian says that the Seleukid royal stud near Apameia on the Orontes in Syria had 30,000 mares and 300 stallions.[34] While some of these figures are undoubtedly inflated, they nevertheless make the point that we should expect horse studs capable of supporting the cavalry needs of an empire to have been on the scale of thousands to tens of thousands of horses.[35]

[29] Thuc. 2.13.8 (Athens has 1,200 cavalry including horse archers by 431), 4.55.2 (Spartans raise 400 cavalry in 424).

[30] Hatzopoulos (2001) 41–3, Hyland (2003) 145–7, Lane Fox (2011) 376, Chandezon (2014a) 157.

[31] Justin 9.2.16. [32] Hdt. 1.192.3.

[33] Arr. *Anab.* 7.13.1, cf. Diod. 17.110.6 (who instead reports the figures as 160,000 and 60,000).

[34] Strabo 16.2.10.

[35] For further discussion of these examples see Hyland (2003) 120–1, Tuplin (2010) 127–8 (Babylonia), 137–9 (Iran). For Nisaian horses see R. Hanslik, *RE* XVII 712–13 s.v. *Νισαῖον πεδίον*.

Finally, it is worth considering the size and quality of the cavalry force Eumenes was attempting to replenish from the royal horse herds around Mt Ida. Two years earlier in 322 he had raised an enormous force of 6,300 cavalry in Cappadocia, a region famed in antiquity for the quality of its mounts.[36] Following this, he had travelled the length of northern Turkey and been involved in several major battles.[37] As we learn from Alexander's experience, hard campaigning of this sort resulted in a significant attrition rate for warhorses. For example, in pursuing Darius' forces after the Battle of Gaugamela in 331, Alexander lost 1,000 mounts 'from wounds and exhaustion'.[38] This represented one-seventh of his overall cavalry force, and about half of the mounts lost were from his crack unit of heavy cavalry, the Companion cavalry. Warhorses of this calibre could not be replaced easily (and certainly not on this scale), and Alexander had to wait till a new batch of Macedonian horses arrived to get the Companion cavalry back up to strength.[39] If, after several major battles and months of marching, Eumenes was able to replenish a 6,300-strong cavalry force from the herds around Mt Ida and feel confident enough to seek out a major cavalry engagement in the plains of Lydia, then this once again indicates the substantial size of these herds.

[36] Plut. *Eum.* 4.2–3, Diod. 18.29.3. Cappadocian horses are particularly praised for their abilities as warhorses, e.g. Ps-Opp. *Cyn.* 1.196–205.

[37] Anson (2004) 106–10.

[38] Arr. *Anab.* 3.15.6: *ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵπποι δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου σχεδόν τι οἱ ἡμίσεες* ('Up to a hundred of Alexander's troops were lost, with over a thousand horses from wounds and distress in the pursuit, of which about half belonged to the Companions'—Loeb translation). For the plausibility of these figures see Bosworth (1980–95) 1:312 and in general on this passage Chandezon (2014a) 162. Compare Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.3 (aftermath of Issos): *καὶ οἵ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθουν βαρέως ὡπλισμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατὰ στενὰς ὁδοὺς πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως ξὺν ἀταξίᾳ ἀποχωροῦντες οὐ μεῖον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ μείων ἢ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγίγνετο* ('The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armoured, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow paths in a crowded horde in terror and disorder, suffered as heavy losses from being ridden over by one another as from the pursuit of their enemies. The Thessalians fell on them with vigour, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry flight as in the infantry'—Loeb translation). Exhaustion following a pursuit: Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.2, 3.15.4, Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.35.

[39] Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.10–11 with Bosworth (1980–95) 1:319–21.

3.2.4 Pasture

Although many places within the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia would have been suitable for horse rearing at a small scale, at the scale of thousands of horses certain logistical problems arise which greatly reduce the number of suitable locations. Firstly, sufficient space would need to be found. In the UK today, horse owners reckon 1 acre = 0.4 ha of fenced grazing per animal, with 1.5 acres = 0.6 ha being considered optimal, and 2/3 acre = 0.27 ha being considered the bare minimum.[40] On the median estimate of 0.4 ha per animal, rearing 5,000–10,000 horses would therefore require an area 20–40 km^2 in size.[41] Secondly, the area or areas chosen would also need to be able to provide high quality grazing pasture. In general, horses being reared for warfare were better fed, in part to improve their strength, size, and health and in part because they were worked much more intensively than horses simply being used as beasts of burden.[42] Thirdly, vets today estimate that in a mild climate under moderate work conditions a horse needs about 8 gallons = 36.5 litres of water per day.[43] The climate in western Turkey during spring, summer, and autumn is, of course, often far from mild, and the workload of warhorses was often well above average. If, however, we take the 8 gallons a day figure as a minimum estimate, then to meet the needs of 5,000–10,000 horses in effect means pasturing them in proximity to a large, continually replenished body of water such as a river or lake. Finally, in order to secure access to winter fodder it would not be practical to pasture the horses at altitudes which suffered extended periods of snowfall, since during these periods the horses have to be fed from stored hay which, at the scale of these herds, would create a significant logistical challenge.[44]

Three regions within the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia satisfy these environmental criteria: (1) the middle Scamander valley; (2) the lower Granikos valley; (3) the interlocking set of plains stretching

[40] Robin Lane Fox (email, 23 August 2012). These figures are in general agreement with Pryor (2006) 21–2.

[41] The low estimate (2/3 acre) gives a range of 13.5–27 km^2, the high estimate (1.5 acres) 30–60 km^2.

[42] Pryor (2006) 18 n. 51 notes an Angevin document dated AD 1280 in which horses doing draught work get a third and donkeys and mules a sixth of the rations assigned to warhorses. Note likewise how in the *Iliad* Pandaros leaves his horses at home lest they be unable to enjoy the quality of fodder to which they are accustomed (*Il.* 5.195–6, 202–3).

[43] Pryor (2006) 20.

[44] Robin Lane Fox (email, 23 August 2012).

from Zeleia to Prusa with the satrapal capital of Daskyleion at their centre. However, options two and three require us to adopt a somewhat unlikely interpretation of what 'Ida' entails in the phrase περὶ τὴν Ἴδην and should therefore be rejected. In the *Iliad*, Ida can refer either to the chain of mountains along the southern coast of the Troad, today known as Kaz Dağı or, more commonly, Kaz Dağları, or to the entire upland region which stretches from Lekton in the south-west corner of the Troad to Zeleia on the Hellespont (of which Kaz Dağları would then be considered simply the most elevated section).[45] As we saw in Chapter 1.2, Strabo was at particular pains to claim that the second, much more extensive definition of Ida was the correct one as part of his larger project of salvaging the reputation of Homeric geography. However, amongst almost all other post-Homeric authors this second sense is hardly ever encountered, and when Ida is referred to without further explanation the Kaz Dağları region is almost always meant. Therefore, the most natural way to read Plutarch/Hieronymos here is as referring to Kaz Dağları specifically, thus confirming the middle Scamander valley rather than the Granikos or Aisepos valleys as the location of these herds. This not only fits with what we have learned of Memnon's career and the cavalry force under his command at the Granikos, but also with several other passages which independently attest the middle Scamander valley's reputation for horse rearing.

3.2.5 Horse Rearing in the Middle Scamander Valley

In the *Iliad* the Trojans are particularly famed for their horse-rearing abilities, and are commonly referred to as 'horse-taming Trojans' (ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες).[46] While horse breeding in the Troad is also associated with the small but well-watered plain between Arisbe and Abydos, it is the kingdom of Dardania which has a particularly

[45] L. Bürchner, *RE* IX 862–4.

[46] ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες appears twenty-three times, often as part of the set hexameter phrase Τρῶές θ' ἱπποδάμοι καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί. Graziosi and Haubold (2010) 163 note that while individual Achaians also receive the epithet, it is only used in the plural of the Trojans. See also κέντορες ἵππων ('drivers of horses'): Καδμεῖοι (*Il.* 4.391), Τρῶες (*Il.* 5.102). Ilion also receives the epithet εὔπωλος ('abounding in foals'): *Il.* 5.551, 16.576.

strong reputation for breeding superlatively fine horses in the *Iliad*.[47] For example, in anticipation of their single combat, Aineias boasts to Achilles of his proud lineage, and in particular of his ancestor Erichthonios:

τοῦ τρισχίλιαι ἵπποι ἕλος κάτα βουκολέοντο
θήλειαι, πώλοισιν ἀγαλλόμεναι ἀταλῇσι.
τάων καὶ Βορέης ἠράσσατο βοσκομενάων,
ἵππῳ δ' εἰσάμενος παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτῃ;
αἳ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πώλους.
αἳ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῷεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν,
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον οὐδὲ κατέκλων;
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σκιρτῷεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,
ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἁλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον.

His three thousand steeds pastured in the marsh-meadow, mares rejoicing in their tender foals. As they were grazing Boreas became enamoured of them, and he likened himself to a dark-maned stallion and covered them; and they conceived and bore twelve fillies. These, when they bounded over the earth, the giver of grain, would run over the topmost ears of ripened corn and break them not and, when they bounded over the broad back of the sea, would run over the topmost breakers of the grey brine.[48]

As Diomedes explains to his companion Sthenelos in Book 5, Aineias' own horses are likewise of divine descent thanks to the deceptive antics of his father Anchises:

Αἰνείαο δ' ἐπαΐξαι μεμνημένος ἵππων,
ἐκ δ' ἐλάσαι Τρώων μετ' ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς.
τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἧς Τρωΐ περ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
δῶχ' υἷος ποινὴν Γανυμήδεος, οὕνεκ' ἄριστοι
ἵππων ὅσσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγχίσης
λάθρῃ Λαομέδοντος ὑποσχὼν θήλεας ἵππους·
τῶν οἱ ἓξ ἐγένοντο ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γενέθλη.
τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
τὼ δὲ δύ' Αἰνείᾳ δῶκεν μήστωρε φόβοιο.

Be mindful to rush upon the horses of Aineias and drive them from the Trojans to the well-greaved Achaians. For they are from that stock which far-thundering Zeus gave to Tros in requital for his son Ganymede, wherefore they are finest of all the horses that there are beneath dawn and sun. From

[47] *Il.* 2.838–9, 12.96–7 (Arisbe), 4.500 (Abydos).
[48] *Il.* 20.221–9 (adapted from the Loeb).

this stock did Anchises, lord of men, steal a breed, putting his mares to them without Laomedon's knowledge. From these a stock of six was born to him in his halls. Four he himself kept and reared them at the manger, but the other two, devisers of rout, he gave to Aineias.[49]

In the poem the territory of Dardania is clearly imagined as belonging to the central Troad, and episodes involving Anchises and Aineias frequently locate these individuals in the forested uplands around the middle Scamander valley and in particular on Kaz Dağları.[50] For example, Anchises and Aphrodite are said to have conceived Aineias among the spurs of Mt Ida where Anchises was pasturing his cattle.[51] The earliest poets to mention this tradition after the *Iliad*, Hesiod in the *Theogony* and the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, likewise imagine this episode as taking place on Kaz Dağları.[52] Elsewhere in the poem we hear of how Achilles ambushed Aineias on Mt Ida when he was pasturing his cattle, forcing him to flee headlong towards Lyrnessos for safety.[53] Since in the *Iliad* Lyrnessos is imagined as being located in the large Plain of Thebe south of Ida, Aineias is here evidently being depicted as pasturing his cattle on Kaz Dağları.[54] At another point in his speech to Achilles, Aineias relates that:

> Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς,
> κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
> ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
> ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.

In the beginning Zeus the cloud-gatherer begot Dardanos, and he founded Dardania, for not yet was sacred Ilios built in the plain to be a city of mortal men, but rather they were still dwelling on the lower slopes of Ida with its many springs.[55]

The epithet πολυπῖδαξ ('many-springed') refers to the many springs on Kaz Dağları which feed the numerous rivers that rise on the

[49] *Il.* 5.263–72 (adapted from the Loeb). Nestor recalls an expedition to steal mares and foals at *Il.* 11.680–1.
[50] This is also the understanding of the scholiasts: *Σ Il.* 20.215–16, 216–17 **AT** (ed. Erbse).
[51] *Il.* 2.819–21, 5.311–13.
[52] Hes. *Theog.* 1008–10, *HH Aphr.* 5.68–80. The hymn is thought to date to the late eighth century and to be drawing on Aiolian and Ionian poetic traditions: Faulkner (2008) 47–50, Richardson (2010) 30, Olson (2012) 10–23.
[53] *Il.* 20.89–96, 188–94.
[54] See Stauber (1996) 1:66–71.
[55] *Il.* 20.215–18 (adapted from the Loeb).

mountain, and it is therefore unsurprising to discover that in the *Iliad* it is only ever applied to the geographically restricted sense of Ida.[56] This is precisely how Plato understands the passage when the Athenian paraphrases it in the *Laws*.[57] Finally, it is worth noting a fragment of Aeschylus' lost play *Niobe* in which Tantalos describes the geographical extent of his kingdom:

> σπείρω δ᾽ ἄρουραν δώδεχ᾽ ἡμερῶν ὁδόν,
> Βερέκυντα χώραν, ἔνθ᾽ Ἀδραστείας ἕδος
> Ἴδη τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βληχήμασιν
> βρέμουσι μήλων, πᾶν τ᾽ Ἐρέχθειον πέδον.

The land I sow extends for twelve days' journey: the country of the Berekyntians, where the territory of Adrasteia and Ida resounds with the lowing and bleating of livestock, and all of the Erechthean plain.[58]

If we are to judge by the catalogue of Trojan allies in the *Iliad*, then Adrasteia is here imagined as being on the Asian shore of the Propontis beside the northern entrance to the Hellespont.[59] Adrasteia and Ida are therefore here marking the northern and southern extremities of Tantalos' kingdom. As Aeschylus apparently knows (presumably from poetic traditions about Dardania, Anchises, and Aineias), the region between these two points consists in great part of the upland forests and pastures of the Ida range, hence the reference to lowing and bleating livestock.[60] The 'Erechthean plain', as Augustus Meineke first saw, is best explained as referring to the region where, according to Aineias in the speech quoted earlier, Erichthonios pastured his three thousand steeds.[61] Given that in Aeschylus' conception

[56] *Il.* 8.47, 14.157, 14.283, 14.307, 15.151, 20.59, 20.218, 23.117; cf. πιδηέσση ('rich in springs'): *Il.* 11.183. For a catalogue of these rivers see *Il.* 12.19–22. For Mt Ida as the source of the region's rivers see Hellanikos of Lesbos *BNJ* 4 F 28 and Demetrios of Skepsis *FGrHist* V 2013 F 29.

[57] Plato, *Laws* 3.682b: κατῳκίσθη δή, φαμέν, ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν πεδίον Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐχ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔχοντα ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης ὡρμημένους ('Ilion was founded, we say, after moving from the highlands down to a large and noble plain, on a hill of no great height which had many rivers flowing down from Ida above'). *Il.* 20.216–18 is quoted immediately beforehand at 3.681e; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.61.4.

[58] Aes. fr. 158 (Loeb translation, ed. Sommerstein).

[59] *Il.* 2.828–9.

[60] For an account of this region see Judeich (1898) 531–5.

[61] Meineke (1852) 199: '*Erechtheum campum . . . intellego Dardaniam, quam Dardano mortuo Erichthonius tenuit*'. His reading of τ᾽ Ἐρέχθειον is adopted by Sommerstein in the Loeb. Radt (*TGrF* 3:274) is rather too cautious in cleaving to the manuscripts and printing δ᾽ †ἐρεχθει†.

this lies between Adrasteia and Ida, the area which he has in mind would appear to be the middle Scamander valley.

The point of discussing these passages at some length has not been to establish where the Dardania of the *Iliad* 'really' was. It would be a mistake to use inferences drawn from the poem to identify where we should start digging to find the palace of Anchises, since, with the exception of Ilion, settlements we find described in the *Iliad* rarely line up with what we find in the ground.[62] The significance which I take from these passages is instead simply that, already in the post-Bronze Age period, the traditions which went into making up the *Iliad* knew the middle Scamander valley as an excellent horse-producing region, a reputation which gained mythological expression in the idea that these horses were ultimately derived from divine stock. Later admirers of the *Iliad* in the Archaic and Classical periods were in no doubt as to where Dardania was thought to be, and therefore which part of the Troad was imagined as producing horses of superlative quality.

The middle Scamander valley owed its suitability for horse rearing in large part to the extensive water meadows which were produced by the river's annual flooding, a phenomenon now all but nullified by modern hydrological engineering (Figure 3.2).[63] Indeed, in commenting on the description of Erichthonios' horse herds quoted above, a scholiast perceptively chose to explain the significance of the phrase

[62] Dardania in fact provides a good example of this: it was for a long time thought that Homeric Dardania should be located on the coast of the Hellespont because in the eighth or seventh century that was where the Aiolian foundation of Dardanos was located. However, subsequent work on the site has yielded nothing earlier than the traditional foundation date. See L. Bürchner on Dardania (*RE* IV 2157–8) and Dardanos (*RE* IV 2163–4). The point is already made by *Σ Il.* 20.216–17 **AT** (ed. Erbse). A modern example of the confusion is Leaf (1900–2) 2:364, corrected in Leaf (1912a) 180. Further discussion in Cook (1973) 58–9, 359.

[63] The *locus classicus* for the force of the river in spate is, as Wood (1775) 328 noted, Achilles fighting the Scamander in *Il.* 21.234–329. The rationalizing account of Hellanikos of Mytilene *BNJ* 4 F 28, who wrote at a time when Ilion was part of the Mytilenaian *peraia*, makes precisely this point. For historical examples of the river's winter flooding see App. *BC* 5.14.138 (events of 35 BC) and Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 134 (events of winter 15/14 BC). For travellers' accounts of these floods and their aftermath see Wood (1775) 327–8, Tozer (1869) 38, and Cook (1973) 295. The importance of the river's flooding to the agriculture of the Trojan Plain is indicated by the kourotrophic powers attributed to the river in a Milesian tale of the early Imperial era set at Ilion: Ps-Aesch. *Ep.* 10 with Robert (1966) 75–8 for the date and Parker (2000) 60, Parker (2005) 430–1, and Thonemann (2006) 38–9 for further discussion and comparanda.

Figure 3.2. The flooded reservoir behind Bayramiç Barajı (completed in 1996) which regulates the flow of water into the middle Scamander valley, here seen at low ebb in late August. The conical hill in the centre is the acropolis of Skepsis (Kurşunlu Tepesi) and behind and to the right is Mt Ida. © Author.

ἕλος κάτα βουκολέοντο by paraphrasing Aristotle's discussion of the natural affinity which horses have for environments of this kind.[64]

A vivid portrait of the environmental context of the middle Scamander valley and how horse rearing fitted into this is provided by a passage of Nicander's *Theriaka*.[65] Nicander of Kolophon was a Hellenistic poet writing in the mid-second century whose *Theriaka* is a didactic poem about venomous animals.[66] At lines 666–75 he describes the following remedy:

> *ἄλλην δ' Ἀλκιβίοιο φερώνυμον ἄγρεο ποίην,*
> *δράχμα χερὸς πλήσας, παύρῳ δ' ἐν νέκταρι πίνειν.*

[64] *Σ Il.* 20.221b[1] **T** (ed. Erbse), paraphrasing Arist. *HA* 605a10–13.

[65] The passage was to be the subject of an unpublished paper by Louis Robert, 'L'herbe d'Alkibios chez Nicandre', '[sur] les chasses aux confins de la Troade et de la Mysie', announced in Robert (1980) 269 n. 65.

[66] For a defence of this low dating of Nicander see Jacques (2007) 100–6.

τὴν μὲν ὑπὸ σκοπέλοισι Φαλακραίοισιν ἐπακτὴρ
Κρύμνης ἄμ πεδίον καὶ ἀνὰ Γράσον ἠδ᾽ ἵνα θ᾽ Ἵππου
λειμῶνες, σκυλάκεσσιν Ἀμυκλαίῃσι κελεύων,
κνυζηθμῷ κυνὸς οὔλῳ ἐπήισε θυμολέοντος,
ὅς τε μεταλλεύων αἰγὸς ῥόθον ἐν στίβῳ ὕλης
κανθῷ ἐνὶ ῥαντῆρι τυπὴν ἀνεδέξατ᾽ ἐχίδνης·
καὶ τὴν μὲν κλάγξας ἀφ᾽ ἑκὰς βάλε, ῥεῖα δὲ ποίης
φύλλα κατέβρυξεν, καὶ ἀλεύατο φοινὸν ὄλεθρον.

Take a herb of another kind that also bears the name of Alkibios, fill your hand full, and drink in a little wine. This it was that when hunting beneath the Phalakraian cliffs, on the plain of Krymne and about Grasos and where the water-meadows of Hippos are, as he called out to his Amyklaian whelps, he discovered through the anguished whimpering of his lion-hearted hound; for as it had been following after a goat's track on a woodland trail it had received the female viper's stab in the watering corner of its eye. And with a howl it flung her off and readily ate the leaves of this herb and escaped deadly destruction.[67]

The reference to Phalakrai (the 'bald heights') allows us to place this episode in the middle Scamander valley, since this was the name of one of the three peaks of Mt Ida (Figure 3.3).[68]

By contrast, the plains of Krymne and Grasos and the pastures of Hippos are otherwise unknown to us.[69] However, it would probably be a mistake to therefore assume that these toponyms are simply a product of poetic fancy untethered from the realities of the Troad. In an attempt to save Nicander from readers who would view him as simply versifying Hellenistic science, recent scholarship has been at

[67] Translation adapted from Gow and Scholfield (1953). For the other herb bearing the name of Alkibios see lines 541–9.

[68] Jacques (2002–7) 2:187, Spatafora (2007) 163 n. 531.

[69] L. Bürchner, *RE* XI 1607 s.v. *Κρασός* (1) suggested that Grasos might be 'Städtchen (?) in der Troas, Nicand. ther. 669', but the scholiasts are in no doubt that *πεδίον* is again implied (*Σ* Nic. *Ther.* 668–72 ed. Crugnola), and it would in any case make little sense to go hunting in the middle of a town. The scholiasts assume that *Ἵππου λειμῶνες* is a reference to where the Trojan horse was constructed (followed by Cazzaniga [1973] 60, Spatafora [2007] 163 n. 532). Thus, one writes: «*ἵππου*» *δὲ τοῦ δουρείου δῆλόν ἐστι* ('"of the horse"—clearly of the wooden horse'), with another adding: *ἵππον δέ, τὸν δούρειον λέγει, καὶ λειμῶνας δὲ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ὁ ἵππος γέγονε* ('the horse is the wooden one and the meadows are where the horse was built') (*Σ* Nic. *Ther.* 668–72 and *γ* on p. 248.4–13). However, the mythological tradition instead quite sensibly locates the construction of the wooden horse by the Camp of the Achaians down in the Trojan Plain (e.g. Quint. Smyrn. 12.122–32), and therefore far away from Nicander's carefully described setting in the middle Scamander valley.

Figure 3.3. The grey streak of the 'bald heights' of Mt Ida as seen from below the acropolis of Skepsis.

pains to emphasize Nicander's literary aims and how these led him to manipulate the scientific raw material of his poetry.[70] While this must be right, we need to be careful not to fall into the opposite trap of assuming he had no interest at all in the *realia* of his subject. Nicander's poetry is packed with medical and botanical information which he appears to have derived both from earlier works and his own researches.[71] A particularly interesting quality of the *Theriaka* is Nicander's interest in the language and lives of primary producers, and indeed at many points his knowledge appears to come from local informants, mimicking the practice of his Peripatetic forebears Aristotle and Theophrastos whom I discussed in Chapter 2 in this regard.[72] While in the passage cited above he is not explicit about where his information on plants such as the herb of Alkibios has come from, in the *Alexipharmaka* he is: 'Some call [aconite] "Leopard's choke", since cowherds and goatherds amid the wooded pastures of Ida in the glens of Phalakrai used to contrive the death of those prodigious beasts with it.'[73]

[70] Hatzimichali (2009), Papadopoulou (2009), Overduin (2014), Overduin (2015) 4–31.

[71] See e.g. Jacques (2002–7) 2:lxxxvi–lxxxviii (discussing Nic. *Ther.* 235–57), Jacques (2007) 106–21.

[72] Jacques (2002–7) 2:lxxxiv–lxxxvi, esp. lxxxv n. 182.

[73] Nic. *Alex.* 38–40: *οἱ δέ τε παρδαλιαγχές—ἐπεὶ θήρεσσι πελώροις / πότμον βουπελάται τε καὶ αἰγινομῆες ἔθεντο / Ἴδης ἐν νεμέεσσι Φαλακραίῃ ἐνὶ βήσσῃ*. See Jacques (2002–7) 3:68–9. Arist. *HA* 612a7–9 adds that *παρδαλιαγχές* also kills lions.

This passage about Leopard's choke also illustrates Nicander's interest in going well beyond the generic descriptions of the environment in which a medicinal plant was likely to be found which are typically found in texts about venomous animals, instead giving a detailed, geographically specific description.[74] We therefore have good reason to think that the toponyms Krymne, Grasos, and Hippos might repay investigation, and I would like to suggest that they are in fact 'speaking' names which were in local use and which tell us something about how primary producers viewed these different places in terms of the kind of pasture they offered.

Krymne is a variant spelling of *κρύμος*, meaning 'an icy cold, a frost'. This could therefore refer to the high-altitude pastures which were only available for grazing in spring and summer—the 'glens of Phalakrai' as Nicander refers to them in the *Alexipharmaka* (Figure 3.4).

The adjective *γράσος* denotes individuals with a goat-like smell. This insult derives from the verbs *γράω* and *γραίνω*, 'to gnaw, eat', and produces a range of words to do with fodder and grazing animals.[75] The insult *γράσος* is therefore an associative meaning of the word, and it can alternatively be interpreted as relating to fodder and grazing. Toponyms based on the *γρασ-/κρασ-* root are frequently associated with areas suitable for grazing horses and large grassland plains, for example: (1) a *paradeisos* near Leptis Magna called Grasse;[76] (2) a place for chariot races near the hippodrome of Antioch called Graste;[77]

For leopards in wooded mountain environments in western Turkey see Jacques (2002–7) 3:69 and Thonemann (2011) 281 with n. 114 (Mt Mykale in Ionia). This is likewise their habitat in the similes at *Il.* 13.101–4, 17.20–3, 21.573–8. For lions preying on livestock up in the mountains see (*inter alia*) the simile at *Il.* 5.136–42. Paris, previously a goatherd on Ida, wears a leopard-skin at *Il.* 3.17 (cf. *Il.* 10.29–30 for that of Menelaus).

[74] Jacques (2002–7) 2:lxxxi–lxxxii. Other examples in the *Theriaka* include lines 11–12 (Askra), 45–50 (Thrace), 145–7 (Othrys), 174–6 (Aithiopia and the Nile), 214–15 (Megarid), 217–18 (Aitolia), 310–13 (the Nile), 458–62 (Thracian isles), 472–3 (Samothrace), 607–8 (Illyria), 630–5 (Lydia), 801–4 (possibly Karia).

[75] e.g. *γράστις*, *γράσσις*, *γραστίζω*, *γραστισμός*, *γραστολογία*, variant spellings of these with *κ*–, *κραστήριον*, and *κραστιφόρος*. LSJ Suppl. also cites *κραστός* from *SEG* 25.556 line 22, but the edition has been superseded by *SEG* 32.456 line 23, where *τὸς κραστος ἱππ*[-] becomes *τῦς πολεμά*[*ρχυς* . . .].

[76] Prokop. *De Bell.* 3.17.8–10 (MSS have *Γράσση*, *Γραίση*, *Γράστη*), cf. Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 191.19 (*Χράση*, *Χράσις*). See H. Dessau, *RE* VII.1830 s.v. Grasse.

[77] Malalas, *Chron.* 10.51.

Figure 3.4. An advance party of Yörük nomads re-erect temporary dwellings crushed by the winter snows at the edge of the treeline on Mt Ida (April–May 1911). Leaf (1912b) 30–1, Plate II.

(3) a plain (and later a settlement) in the vicinity of Dorylaion named Krasos;[78] (4) a settlement in the plain at the confluence of the Maeander and Lykos rivers again called Krasos;[79] and (5) the plain of Grastonia/Krastonia between the Axios river and the mountains of Bisaltia in Macedonia, allegedly named after a hero called Grastos.[80] The toponym Grasos should therefore be associated with grassland plains suitable for grazing horses which had a more temperate climate than the sort of place which might attract the name 'Krymne'.

The description of Alkibios hunting 'beneath the Phalakrian cliffs, on the plain of Krymne and about Grasos and where the water-meadows of Hippos are' therefore represents a precipitous descent from above the treeline on Mt Ida (the 'bald heights' of Phalakrai),

[78] The plain of Krasos in the vicinity of Dorylaion is attested by Nikeph. Patr. *Brev. Hist.* 59.27 (*τὸ πεδίον ὃ Κρασὸς προσαγορεύεται*), and a small settlement of the same name is indicated in the concurrent account of the events of AD 741–2 in Theophanes, *Chron.* 414.20, 481.2. See W. Ruge, *RE* XI 1607 s.v. *Κρασός* (3).

[79] W. Ruge, *RE* XI 1607 s.v. *Κρασός* (2). Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 667.1.

[80] *Γραστωνία*: Thuc. 2.99.6, 2.100.4; Theopompos of Chios *BNJ* 115 F 237a = Ath. 3.77d–e (as *Γραιστωνία*, an agriculturally super-abundant region), F 237b = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γαστρωνία* (Billerbeck [2006–17] 1:411 n. 40: 'eine falsche Namensform für Grestonia'); s.v. *Γρηστωνία*. Papazoglou (1988) 187–8 correctly associates Grastonia with the variants Krestonia and Krastonia. *Γράστος*: Theagenes *BNJ* 774 F 12–13, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γρηστωνία* («*ἀπὸ Γράστου τινός*»); see C. Danoff, *RE* Suppl. IX 76. Two Macedonians (perhaps from this region?) bear the name *Κράστων*: *IG* I[3] 89.61, 64 (417–413 BC?) = Tataki (1998) 348 nos. 89–90.

through high altitude pastures which are inhospitable in winter (the 'frosty' plain of Krymne), onto the grassland plains bordering the valley floor at Grasos, and finally down to the lush and humid water-meadows (*λειμῶνες*) of Hippos which bordered the course of the Scamander in spring and summer. The terms used to refer to these different areas conceptualize the character of each with regard to its usefulness for grazing animals (e.g. climate, quality of pasture, access to water), thus reflecting the priorities of the primary producers pasturing their livestock in these areas.[81]

The toponym Hippos is open to several different interpretations.[82] Nicander's language is rich in Homeric allusions, and so by referring to *Ἵππου λειμῶνες* he may have been alluding to the tradition that Erichthonios' horses pastured in this region. Alternatively, as with the other toponyms, it could simply be a speaking name which reflected the use to which these water-meadows were being put as a place to pasture horses. Finally, it is possible that this name referred quite specifically to the existence of a horse stud here. We may compare a *horos* from the Kaystros delta which reads *ὅρος ἱερὸς Ἀρτέμιδος χώρας τῆς ἐν Ἱπποβότωι* ('sacred boundary marker of the land of Artemis at Hippobotos').[83] The editors argue that the toponym Hippobotos ('grazed by horses') derives from the existence of a horse stud on this land.[84] In this connection, it is intriguing that in the sixth century AD the Byzantine geographer Hierokles lists a community called Hippos in the central Troad.[85] While Hierokles frequently omits places, there is no suggestion that he ever fabricates those which he includes.[86] Unfortunately, it is impossible to say what connection (if any) may exist between this early Byzantine toponym and the *Ἵππου λειμῶνες* of Nicander.

Finally, it is worth noting that Gargara and Neandreia, whose territories probably bordered one another in the vicinity of the Samonion Plain at the western end of the middle Scamander valley,

[81] Compare the imperial stud of Samakion in the Maeander delta whose name derives from *σάμαξ* ('sedge'): Thonemann (2011) 306 n. 23.

[82] For the unlikely suggestion of the scholiasts that it refers to the Trojan horse see n. 69 above.

[83] *SEG* 45.1583 (late Hellenistic).

[84] Içten and Engelmann (1995) 89. See Thonemann (2011) 270, 305 for a Byzantine-era imperial estate in this area at Myrelaion which was perhaps used for horse rearing.

[85] Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 664.2.

[86] Jones (1971) 514–21.

produced silver and bronze coinage featuring horses.[87] In the fourth century BC, Gargara produced a large series of bronzes in a variety of denominations with a laureate head of Apollo as the obverse type and a galloping horse as the reverse type, and later in the second century a much smaller series with a head of Hermes and a horse standing as the type.[88] Later, in the second half of the second century, Gargara once again revived this image, producing bronzes with a bust of Artemis as the obverse and a horse standing with its right foreleg raised on the reverse.[89] In the last quarter of the fifth century Neandreia produced silver drachms with a laureate head of Apollo as the obverse type and a horse grazing as the reverse type.[90] These types were maintained on the silver drachms and hemidrachms minted in the first half of the fourth century as well as on the city's larger denomination bronze coinage of the fourth century.[91] Neandreia was synoikized into Antigoniea Troas at the end of the fourth century, which was soon afterwards renamed Alexandreia by King Lysimachos *c.*301. Alexandreia adopted Neandreia's grazing horse type for its coinage, and this became the city's *parasemon* for the rest of antiquity. On a minimalist interpretation, the repeated appearance

[87] In modern times horses have been moved up from the plains to graze on Çığrı Dağı (Neandreia) during the summer in order to take advantage of the cooler climate (its maximum elevation is 520 m) and its many springs: Cook (1973) 205, Winter (1985) 683. Samonion Plain: Strabo 10.3.20. For a conservative estimate of the extent of each city's territory and their share of this plain see Cook (1973) 207–8 (Neandreia), 260–1 (Gargara). Until recently, Kokkylion was placed to the SW of the Samonion Plain, meaning that its territory would have interposed itself between those of Neandreia and Gargara. However, the recent discovery of a *sympoliteia* treaty with Ilion (*SEG* 57.1264, *c.*300–250 BC) indicates that it must have been located on the northern side of the middle Scamander valley, or else this *sympoliteia* would have cut off the Kebrenia from the rest of Alexandreia Troas' territory.

[88] Apollo/Horse: a representative sample in *SNG Copenhagen* 316–31. Hermes/Horse: *SNG Greece* 5.1316, two more in Berlin. The date is indicated by die axes adjusted to 12h, broken cross-bar on alpha, and dotted border on obverse.

[89] *SNG Ashmolean* 1139, *BMC Troas* 53, no. 15 (another in London), *SNG Copenhagen* 332, *BNF Fonds Général* 647, two more in Berlin. The date is suggested by the die axes adjusted to 12h and broken crossbar on alpha.

[90] *SNG Copenhagen* 322.

[91] Drachms: *BM* 1919,1120.107 (ex Weber 5415) and four others in trade. Hemidrachms: *BMC Troas* 73, no. 1, one in Berlin, and six more in trade. The dating of the drachms and hemidrachms is indicated by their use of the Chian weight standard (Meadows [2011], Ellis-Evans [2016b]) and the incuse square reverses (Ellis-Evans [2018] 40–9). Large Denomination Bronzes: a representative sample in *BMC Troas* 74, nos. 8–11. This series mainly has circular incuse reverses, suggesting they belong later in the fourth century.

of horses on the coinage of Gargara and Neandreia might simply be a reference to the region's fame in horse rearing, or perhaps specifically to the legendary steeds of Erichthonios. More speculatively, however, the particular concentration of coin types featuring horse imagery which were being minted in the late fifth and fourth century might reflect the involvement of these cities in maintaining the royal horse herds, which were perhaps located at their end of the middle Scamander valley.

As we are reminded by the testimony of the *Iliad* and Nicander, the royal herds on Mt Ida would have occupied a quite specific environment within the landscape of the middle Scamander valley. The water meadows bordering the Scamander and its tributaries were ideal for grazing horses, a potential which the inhabitants of the Troad had recognized and were exploiting long before the advent of Persian rule. It was the Achaemenids, however, who ramped up horse breeding in this region in order to meet their own military needs. We may now speculate on the consequences of their doing so for the inhabitants of this region.

3.3 THE ROYAL HERDS AROUND MT IDA AND REGIONAL HISTORY

In section two of this chapter I argued that the size of the royal herds around Mt Ida was in the range of 5,000–10,000 horses, that the amount of pasture needed to sustain these herds would therefore likely cover a total area of 20–40 km^2, and that within the Troad these herds would have been located in the middle Scamander valley, perhaps at its western end in particular. Clearly, herds of this size would have had a significant impact on the economy of the middle Scamander valley. The questions we are left with, therefore, are how great that impact would have been, would it have been seen as beneficial or detrimental to the local economy, and what can the location of these herds in the middle Scamander valley tell us about the political status of that region more generally.

3.3.1 The Cost of Horse Rearing

The process of rearing and training horses equal to the rigours of warfare was a costly and time-consuming business. In the case of many of these costs we are in a position to list but not quantify them. So, for example, these herds will have required adequate stabling to ensure that the horses remained warm, well-fed, and disease-free over the winter, an issue which was of great concern in ancient horse veterinary texts.[92] Running these stables, maintaining the horses in peacetime, and training them for war will also have been labour intensive. It is indicative of the myriad jobs performed by a stud's numerous grooms (*ἱπποκόμοι*) that under the rubric 'He who takes care of a horse must do the following' the grammarian Julius Pollux lists a catalogue of jobs associated with running a stable that runs to ten pages in the Teubner.[93] For the Roman period, surviving papyri detail the laborious process by which the Roman army selected horses for cavalry service. Administrators first examined a horse to check whether it was healthy, next they put it through its paces to judge its speed, strength, stamina, and general character, and only when they were satisfied that it could handle the rigours of cavalry service was it selected. Once in service, the horse continued to undergo regular checks to determine when it needed to be retired. As such, even a comparatively small cavalry unit such as a *cohors equitata quingenaria*, consisting of 120 *equites* and 600 horses, will therefore have produced a significant amount of bureaucratic work.[94]

While we do not possess a similarly rich paper trail for Classical and Hellenistic cavalry, it is clear that this was also the practice in these periods. For example, in his *On Horsemanship* Xenophon details how to examine a horse you intend to purchase and then separately how to examine a horse you intend to train for war.[95] Scattered references in our accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great and, in particular, in relation to the famed Bucephalas indicate that similarly thorough examinations were standard practice for the Macedonian cavalry.[96] Finally, the third-century BC bronze tablets from the Kerameikos and the Agora recording valuations for

[92] These texts are collected in the *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum* (ed. Oder). For this early Byzantine compilation of earlier texts see McCabe (2007).

[93] Pollux, *Onom.* 1.199–208 (*ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιμελητὴς τάδε πραττέτω*).

[94] Davies (1969).

[95] Xen. *Eq. Mag.* 1 (general examination), 3.7, 3.12 (examination for war horses). Compare the very similar advice in Varro, *RR* 2.7.15 and the discussion of both texts in Davies (1969) 443–5.

[96] Chandezon (2014a) 158–60.

horses purchased by the Athenian cavalry demonstrate that the paper work we see being created by bureaucrats administering the Roman cavalry was not unique to the Roman case, but an unavoidable aspect of maintaining functioning cavalry forces.[97] The selection of horses for cavalry units was, of course, just one of the many jobs that needed to be done. For example, Strabo relates that, in order to turn the 30,000+ horses at the royal stud at Apameia on the Orontes into useable cavalry, the Seleukid state had to employ a small army of grooms, a great number of colt-breakers (*πωλοδάμναι*), instructors in heavy-armed combat (*ὁπλομάχοι*), and instructors in warfare (*παιδευταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν*).[98]

These costs, while real, are unfortunately not quantifiable, and as such we are not in a position to say what impact they would have had on the economy of the middle Scamander valley via the creation of the royal herds. However, it is possible to estimate the amount of food which a 5,000-strong horse stud will have required to maintain the animals in good condition, since the nutritional needs of horses relative to their size, work load, and work conditions are unlikely to have changed since antiquity, and we possess scattered references to the rations given to war horses which independently confirm this assumption. Feeding these herds will not only have been the largest cost associated with maintaining the stud, but also the one which would have had the most direct impact on the local economy, since grain and fodder will have been requisitioned from local sources in the first instance before looking further afield.

A horse's diet consists of grain (barley), dry fodder (hay), and green fodder (grass). Green fodder would have been provided by the 0.4 ha of pasture which I earlier assumed was allotted to each horse, and so we can set it to one side in what follows.[99] The amount of grain and dry fodder a horse needed could vary substantially depending on a wide range of factors such as the age and size of the horse, the heat of its environment, its work load, and how heavily laden it was to name just a few. In the case of a horse stud producing cavalry mounts, we

[97] See Kroll (1972) and Spence (1993) 275–9.

[98] Strabo 16.2.10 with Bikerman (1938) 59–60 (Seleukid cavalry units), 92 (this passage).

[99] See section 3.2.4 above for this estimate and Pryor (2006) 15–16, 20–1 for how much green fodder a horse would need to consume daily from its area of pasture (he estimates 12.5 kg).

would expect the horses to have had a moderate workload punctuated by periods of high intensity activity when the horses were being trained for warfare. Within these parameters, there is broad agreement between scholars working on very different periods of ancient and medieval history that an adult horse (i.e. older than a year) doing moderate work needed about 2.5–3 kg of grain per day and the same amount again of dry fodder, and double this amount during periods of hard work.[100] At an absolute minimum, therefore, each horse at the royal stud would need 5 kg of feed a day. To feed 5,000 horses would therefore require the requisitioning of at least 25 tonnes of feed a day and over 750 tonnes in the course of a month. These figures are, if anything, overly conservative compared to what we find in the sources. For example, a papyrus receipt from AD 185 states that an *ala* of 600 cavalry needed 20,000 *artabas* (= 625 tonnes) of barley a year, suggesting a daily ration of 2.83 kg of barley rather than the 2.5 kg I have been assuming.[101] Even a modest increase to the daily ration such as this results in the quantity of feed being consumed per month jumping from 750 to 850 tonnes.

[100] We can infer from the evidence of the Persepolis Fortification tablets that, depending on age, horses received between 0.9 kg and 5.5 kg of grain, with 2.75 kg being the average for adult horses: see Evans (1986–7) 103 n. 54. Spence (1993) 281–3 estimates 4 *choinikes* of barley (= 2.97 kg) per day based on (*inter alia*) Plb. 6.39.13–14, and Launey (1987) 2:777–8 cites Ptolemaic papyri indicating that a cavalry mount's monthly ration of dry fodder was 100 kg = 3.2–3.3 kg per day. For the Roman period we have figures suggesting a daily barley ration of 2.83 kg (see n. 101 below), and in the much later context of the Crusades Pryor (2006) 15 n. 40 and Haldon (2006) 126–7 estimate 2.5 kg of grain and the rather higher dry fodder figure of 5.5 kg (perhaps explained by the fact that they are discussing the conditions of a campaign march rather than stabled horses). Finally, Evans (1986–7) 102 quotes Horace Hayes's *Veterinary Notes for Horse Owners* (1st edn 1877, as of 2002 in its 18th edn) to the effect that a 1,000 lb horse will need about 5 kg of feed a day. The exception to this broad consensus is Engels (1978) 126–9 who estimates 9–11 kg of feed for a horse doing moderate work, 11–14.5 kg for a horse doing hard work. However, as Spence (1993) 281–3 has pointed out, Engels has been misled by using the guidelines in the British Army's World War One-era veterinary handbook. *Pace* Engels, the horses in Alexander's cavalry cannot be compared to late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century cavalry chargers since they were smaller, not worked as hard, and less heavily loaded on campaign. As Spence (1993) 283 remarks, 'a much better comparison in terms of horse size, workload, climate, and to some extent topography, would be with the small horse or the mounted infantry pony on field service in India'—the barley rations for these were, respectively, 3.63 kg and 2.72 kg.

[101] *P. Amh.* II 107.10–11 (Hermoupolis Magna) with Davies (1969) 435.

3.3.2 The Adverse Impact of Large-Scale Horse Rearing

We have scattered evidence indicating that the requirement to provide feed for horses was considered onerous, and that those who had this burden placed upon them did what they could to escape it. For example, from the archive of the Ptolemaic official Zenon we have a petition from a certain Neon of Kalynda to his friend Damonikos dated 6 June 247 which makes the following complaint:

> Would you please speak to Zenon about the billeting and the hay and the green fodder for the sixty-days' obligation, asking that an order be given in my name; for at present we have people quartered on us and have also to provide hay for the cavalrymen, as they are paying no attention to the first letter . . . [102]

Neon's father had petitioned the Ptolemaic *dioikites* Apollonios to be freed from these obligations, which thus reverted to the polis of Kalynda. On his death, Kalynda re-imposed these obligations on Neon, who then expended significant political capital to regain the exemption, calling in favours from well-placed contacts in Egypt, promising to visit Egypt himself at the first opportunity, and sending other citizens of Kalynda to Egypt to argue the case on his behalf.[103] Rhetorically, Neon presents the obligation to provide hay and green fodder for the horses as being a burden equal to, if not greater than, the billeting of the troops, placing it second on both occasions he mentions it and describing it in detail rather than with a single word. That this really would have been the more onerous part of this package of obligations will be apparent from the estimates just discussed of how much feed cavalry mounts needed on a daily basis, but is also independently attested by other Ptolemaic documents. For example, a papyrus dealing with pay for a troop of mercenary cavalrymen provides each man with 3 bronze drachmas for his food (*ὀψώνιον*), but 50 bronze drachmas for his mount's feed (*ἱπποτροφικόν*).[104] Again, Ptolemaic cavalry *klerouchoi* were granted estates of 27.5 ha, whereas

[102] *P. Cair. Zen.* 59341b.3–9: *καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις μ̣νησ[θεὶς] Ζήνωνι περὶ το[ῦ] σταθμοῦ καὶ τοῦ χ[όρ]τ̣[ου] κ̣αὶ τῆς γράστεως τῶν (ἑξηκονθ)ημερησίων ὅ̣π̣ω̣ς̣ γ̣ρ̣α̣φ̣ῆ̣ι̣ εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔχ̣ο̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ καὶ ἐπιστάθμους καὶ {καὶ} τὸν χόρτον κ̣αὶ τὴν γ̣ρ̣άστιν τελοῦμεν τῶι ἱππεῖ, οὐ προσεχόντων αὐτῶν τῆι πρώτηι ἐπιστολῆι.* The singular *ἱππός* here refers not to a single cavalryman, but collectively to a cavalry unit: Wörrle (1979) 88 n. 24.

[103] *P. Cair. Zen.* 59341b.10–17.

[104] Launey (1987) 2:772.

infantrymen might receive estates of only 6.9 ha. This in part reflected a difference in social status between the two groups, but also acknowledged that, in addition to supporting him financially, a cavalryman's estate also needed to provide pasture and feed for his horses.[105]

The case of Neon only relates to the burden of supporting a small detachment of cavalry. By contrast, a recently published inscription from a private collection illustrates the impact which playing host to an entire royal stud could have on the local economy.[106] The fragmentary inscription, apparently from Drangiana in eastern Iran, preserves a royal letter from Seleukos II (r. 246–226) to a certain Herophantos who was probably the satrap of Drangiana or the Upper Satrapies.[107] Seleukos had received a petition from the people of Baiseira complaining that a number of obligations including ἐπισταθμεία (billeting), λειτουργία (provision of services), ἱπποφόρβια (maintenance of the horses), and χορτοκόπια (provision of green fodder) had become more onerous than the king's grandfather (Antiochos I, who ran the Upper Satrapies 294–281) had intended when he first established them. The fact that this arrangement was set up by Antiochos I, that Seleukos II is subsequently the right person to petition about it, and that the petitioners are apparently non-Greek villagers (Baiseira is a non-Greek toponym) who seem to be living on royal land all suggests that the horses are being raised on a royal stud. Georges Rougemont speculates that this stud may have been in the region of the Sistan Lakes which straddle the modern border between Iran and Afghanistan and where ample χόρτος would have been available.[108] If the restored reference in lines 2–3 to [τῶν? ἐν ταῖς χορτο]κοπικαῖς κώμαις οἰκούντων ('those who live in the villages which provide green fodder') is correct, then it would seem that the Seleukids solved the problem of how to provide the vast amounts of feed needed to support large-scale horse-rearing by dedicating a significant part of the productive efforts of whole villages on royal land to the task. It therefore appears that, for these villages, the massive demand for fodder created by the presence of a nearby royal

[105] Thompson (2011) 393. Compare Tuplin (2010) 126–7 on 'chariot estates' and 'horse estates' in Achaemenid Babylonia likewise being proportionately larger.

[106] *IGIAC* 80bis.

[107] Seleukos III (r. 226–223) is also a possibility, but seems unlikely given that he spent his short reign in Asia Minor: Rougemont (2012) 266.

[108] Rougemont (2012) 267. Later under Antiochos III the royal herds were further west in Media: Plb. 5.44.1.

stud did not represent an economic opportunity, but rather a crushing burden.

The impact which large-scale horse rearing could have on the local economy can be followed in much greater detail in the case of the imperial stud which the Byzantine state imposed on the Maeander delta in the eleventh–thirteenth century. Here, successive land surveys illustrate in a level of detail we rarely have access to in antiquity how the quantity of land under cultivation plummeted as the Byzantine state transformed this once super-abundant region into a vast imperial stud capable of meeting the defensive needs of the entire province of Asia.[109] This case illustrates two points which will also have been pertinent for horse studs in antiquity. Firstly, when combined with the ancient evidence for the provision of fodder discussed above, we see how the creation of a large-scale horse stud represented a double blow to the local economy. In order to create a royal stud, some of the most productive locally available agricultural land had to be taken out of use to no economic benefit to the local population. However, as a result of creating the stud, massive demand for grain and dry fodder was imposed on the local economy, often in the form of obligations where the economic benefit to the local population of providing these goods to the state will have been minimal, at precisely the time when the amount of land locally available to produce grain and dry fodder had shrunk dramatically. Secondly, this example reminds us that the problem was not so much horse breeding, which had always been a feature of the lower Maeander valley (as it had been in the middle Scamander valley), but rather the scale on which the Byzantine state needed horse breeding to be undertaken in order to meet its needs. As Peter Thonemann has emphasized, the priorities of the local inhabitants and the priorities of the Byzantine state were completely at odds: 'A process which was all but catastrophic for landowners and the local rural population may have been positively beneficial to the imperial military apparatus; in the eleventh century, the state had an *interest* in the destruction of settled agriculture in the Maeander delta.'[110] In the same way, while the middle Scamander valley had always been an important horse-breeding area, what we know about how Greek cities chose to finance their cavalry units suggests that the cities of this region would never have

[109] Thonemann (2011) 302–6.
[110] Thonemann (2011) 306 (emphasis in original).

voluntarily undertaken horse breeding on the scale which the Persian Empire imposed on them.

In general, Greek cities preferred not to bear the cost of maintaining sizeable cavalry forces. While they were not averse to making significant capital investments in defending themselves, they preferred to target these funds at building fleets and fortifications. When it came to cavalry, they preferred to encourage wealthy aristocrats among the citizen body, who were often involved in horse breeding already, to bear this cost and also to serve as the city's cavalry. Athens has sometimes been thought to be an exception to this, since it offered its *hippeis* financial support in the form of a *κατάστασις* (an establishment loan to help them purchase their horse; introduced in the mid-420s) and *σῖτος* (a daily ration to feed their horse and their groom's horse; introduced by 410/9).[111] However, as Iain Spence has argued, the purpose of this state aid was not to relieve the *hippeis* of the cost of serving in the cavalry, but rather to encourage them to join up in the first place. The *katastasis* was a loan which had to be paid back at a later date and probably did not cover the whole cost of the horse in the first place. Moreover, given how rapidly a horse's value depreciated, if the cavalryman kept the horse for several years then he could not expect to recoup much of the cost of the loan by selling the horse on. As Spence suggests, the point of the loan was rather to encourage young aristocrats who had not yet come into their inheritance to join the cavalry and then pay the state back at a later point when they were independently wealthy.[112] Likewise, the *sitos* will only have covered the cost of the grain ration for the horses of the cavalryman and his groom when grain prices were not raised by inflation and when the horses did not need extra food because they had been worked hard. Finally, it should be noted that Spence fails to account for the requisitioning of dry fodder for the horses, which would raise the cost still further. The *sitos* therefore did not relieve an Athenian cavalryman of the costs of feeding his horses, it simply somewhat ameliorated this burden.[113] It is striking to consider how meagre these efforts at state support are considering they were formulated during the Peloponnesian War when Athens was a wealthy tributary empire, had an unusually large cavalry force

[111] Spence (1993) 272.
[112] Spence (1993) 275–80.
[113] Spence (1993) 281–5.

for a Greek city (1,200 cavalrymen in 431), and was making constant use of these forces to defend Attica from Peloponnesian incursions.

Relying on aristocrats to provide the city's cavalry not only deprived the city of skilled horsemen who happened not to be wealthy, but also capped the size of the city's cavalry at the number of citizens with the wealth and inclination to join the cavalry. As Chandezon has noted, some Greek cities recognized this problem and tried to solve it by dissociating the wealth needed to maintain horses from the individuals who rode them. For example, in 396 the Spartan king Agesilaos found himself in need of cavalry while campaigning in western Asia Minor. As Xenophon relates, he solved this problem by setting up a cavalry liturgy: 'He assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; and by proclaiming that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, he caused these arrangements to be carried out with all the alacrity that was to be expected when men were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead'.[114] The references to *ἱπποτροφία* in later Hellenistic documents from Priene, Kyzikos, and Kos probably refer to similar arrangements.[115] However, as Chandezon rightly observes, these cases are highly exceptional. While liturgies such as *χορηγία* and *τριηραρχία* are attested at a great many cities, a liturgy supporting cavalry is only known at Classical Sparta and these three Hellenistic cities.[116] It is therefore not the case that Greek cities could not see the solution to fielding larger and more professional cavalry forces, but rather that they did not view this as a cost-effective use of their funds. Considering the negative impact which large-scale horse-rearing would have had on the wealth of landowners, it is perhaps not so surprising that citizen assemblies preferred to defend their cities in other ways. It is notable that the one region where we see cavalry being prioritized is Thessaly which, because of its geography and political system, did not face the same constraints on land availability and political decision-making as cities elsewhere in the Greek world did.[117] Large cavalry formations

[114] Xen. *Anab*. 3.4.15. See also Plut. *Ages.* 9.3–4. Discussion in Chandezon (2014b) 37–8.

[115] Priene: *I. Priene*^{2} 144.26 (*c.*130 BC). Kyzikos: *SEG* 33.1053 line 3 (second century BC) with J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1984) no. 341. Kos: *IG* XII (4,1) 298.7 (second half of third century BC). Discussion in Chandezon (2014b) 31–6.

[116] Chandezon (2014b) 48.

[117] Strootman (2010–11), esp. 52–4.

were thus almost exclusively the preserve of empires, and their creation almost always at odds with the interests of the empire's subjects.

3.3.3 Managing the Impact of Empire: Tax, Horse Rearing, and Elite Politics

Empires in antiquity were much more willing to do what was necessary to create large and effective cavalry forces since they had access to revenues and territory which were orders of magnitude greater than those of the average Greek city and they had a continual need to defend and expand their possessions. However, how they chose to impose this cost on their subjects had different political consequences for their subjects depending on the arrangement (or mixture of arrangements) which they chose.[118] Several options were available. Firstly, land could be offered in exchange for military service: we have seen an example of this above with the 27.5 ha of land given to Ptolemaic cavalry *klerouchoi* (as opposed to the 6.9 ha given to infantry *klerouchoi*).[119] Secondly, state revenues could be used either to hire mercenary cavalry (as the Persian satraps in western Asia Minor frequently chose to do in the fourth century) or to create the infrastructure necessary to produce a reliable supply of cavalry units. This could entail the creation of state-run studs, or alternatively a bureaucracy capable of requisitioning mounts *en masse*.[120]

By contrast, the approach which the Persian Empire often took was to identify horse-producing regions and then make the provision of mounts or cavalry part of the tribute requirement of the relevant satrapy. In this way, the Persian Empire only took an interest in the end result (i.e. whether the requisite number of mounts/cavalry were provided), not in how this was achieved, which was instead left to the local elites of the satrapy to determine in discussion with the satrap. Thus, when Xenophon and his Greek mercenaries were on the run

[118] On a mixture of strategies being the norm see Hatzopoulos (2001) 41–3.

[119] Launey (1987) 2:772.

[120] Seleukids: Strabo 16.2.10 with Bikerman (1938) 59–60, 92. Imperial period: Davies (1969) 453–4; cf. 431, discussing Tac. *Ann.* 1.71 and 2.5: attempts to resupply Germanicus' army with horses following his campaigns beyond the Rhine in AD 15 deplete Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Late Antiquity: Prokop. *De Bell.* 3.12.6, 8.27.8 (Thrace), Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* 3.1 (eastern Asia Minor—Cappadocia specifically?). Middle Byzantine period: Thonemann (2011) 302–6.

from Persian forces and encountered a village in Armenia rearing a large number of horses as tribute for the Persian king, they met no actual Persians, just Armenian villagers who gave them a warm welcome and sent them on their way with a few fresh horses and advice about the journey ahead.[121] This is the system which Alexander inherited wholesale in Asia Minor, and which would still have been in operation a few years later when Eumenes encountered the royal herds around Mt Ida.[122] This Achaemenid system gave local elites an unusual degree of latitude in deciding how the burden of empire would impact their region. The general unwillingness of poleis to engage in large-scale horse rearing, its adverse impact on landowners through the turning over of prime agricultural land to pasture, and the lengths to which well-connected landowners were willing to go to avoid this obligation (as illustrated by the case of Neon of Kalynda) all suggest that, given the choice, local elites would seek either to resist the imposition of royal herds altogether, or to set them up where they would least affect their landholdings and where the local inhabitants had less political influence with the Persian administration.

This appears to be what happened in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia with the royal herds around Mt Ida. While the middle Scamander valley is certainly well-suited to large-scale horse rearing, the lower Granikos valley and the series of interlocking plains around the satrapal capital of Daskyleion provide equally good pasture but on a much larger scale where, consequently, the impact of the royal herds on the local economy would have been mitigated. However, the Persians and their allies among the local elites appear to have based themselves primarily in the Granikos valley and the region around Daskyleion, and this may explain why the royal herds did not end up being located there.[123] As we learn from Xenophon, the region around Daskyleion was full of populous villages and large tracts of land set aside for the elite activity of hunting in Persian *paradeisoi*. The abundance of the region was such that Agesilaos' army was able

[121] Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.34–6 (§34: *βασιλεῖ δασμός*), cf. Strabo 11.14.9. Compare Cappadocia which paid a tribute of silver, 1,500 horses, 2,000 mules, and 50,000 sheep (Strabo 11.13.8).

[122] See, for example, the case of Aspendos in Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.3–27.4, whose tribute of 50 T and an unspecified number of horses was also asked of them by Alexander (much to their chagrin). Further discussion in Chandezon (2014a) 163 with n. 109.

[123] Sekunda (1988), Bieg (2006).

to live off the land here for a whole winter in 395.[124] It is likewise telling that, while Memnon of Rhodes was only responsible for the Troad, he nevertheless owned extensive estates to the east of his area of responsibility in the lower Granikos valley (section 3.2.2 above). As is indicated by both our literary sources and the series of elaborate tombs for local aristocrats which have recently come to light in the Granikos valley, there was a significant concentration of wealthy estates in this region.[125]

By contrast, the communities of the middle Scamander valley appear to have had a somewhat peripheral political status within the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. At some point soon after Cyrus' conquest of Asia Minor in the mid-540s the Persian king rewarded Pytharchos, a native of Kyzikos, with the revenues of seven cities in the region.[126] The list of names is clearly corrupt, but Wilamowitz plausibly suggested that instead of *Σκῆπτρα*, *Ἀρτύψον*, *Τορτύρην* we should read *Σκῆψιν*, *Ἄστυρα*, *Γέργιθα*—Skepsis and Gergis are towns in the middle Scamander valley, while Astyra was located on the southern coast of the Troad and was later a dependent community of Antandros.[127] As we learn from the Danube Bridge debate in Book 4 of Herodotus (dramatic date 513), by the reign of Darius I (r. 522–486) the coast of Hellespontine Phrygia had become thickly populated with Persian-supported tyrants who had installed themselves at Abydos, Lampsakos, Parion, Prokonnesos, Kyzikos, and Byzantion.[128] According to Thucydides, it was also in *c.*513

[124] Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15–16.

[125] Polyxena sarcophagus: Sevinç (1996); Dedetepe tumulus: Sevinç et al. (1998); Gümüşçay sarcophagus: Sevinç and Rose (1999); Çan sarcophagus: Sevinç et al. (2001). Granikos River Valley Survey Project (2004–7): annual reports by C. B. Rose and R. Körpe in *AST* 23.2 (2005) 323–32, 24.2 (2006) 67–78, 25.2 (2007) 103–16, 26.2 (2008) 343–56, and Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. (2007).

[126] Agathokles *BNJ* 472 F 6 = Ath. 1.30a: *καὶ Κῦρος δὲ ὁ μέγας Πυθάρχωι τῶι Κυζικηνῶι φίλωι ὄντι ἐχαρίσατο ἑπτὰ πόλεις, ὥς φησιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Πήδασον, Ὀλύμπιον, <Ἀ>καμάντιον, <Τίον>, † Σκῆπτρα, Ἀρτύψον, Τορτύρην † κτλ.* ('According to the Babylonian Agathokles, Cyrus the Great gave seven cities as a present to his friend Pytharchos of Kyzikos: Pedasos, Olympion, Akamantion, <Tios>, Skeptra, Artypsos and Tortyre'—Loeb translation).

[127] See Kaibel (Teubner *ad loc.*): '*Τίον suppl. Cas(aubon), tum Σκῆψιν, Ἄστυρα Γέργιθα Wilam(owitz)*'. The suggestion ultimately goes back to Casaubon's 1597 edition (*non vidi*) according to Desrousseaux (Budé *ad loc.*): '*Cas. primo loco Σκῆψιν suspicabatur*'. Jacoby (*FGrHist* IIIB:432 *ad* 10–11) and Engels (commentary on *BNJ* 472 F 6) note the suggestion, but it is absent from Olson (2006–12) 1:170.

[128] Hdt. 4.138.1.

that the Athenian tyrant Hippias married off his daughter to the son of the tyrant of Lampsakos, 'perceiving that they had great influence with King Darius'.[129] According to the local historians Phainias of Eresos and Neanthes of Kyzikos, both writing in the fourth century BC, Palaiskepsis in the upper Scamander valley and Perkote on the Hellespontine coast were among the cities whose revenues Artaxerxes I (r. 465–424) granted to Themistokles.[130] In the late fifth century this region was controlled by Zenis of Dardanos and subsequently his wife Mania, both of whom enjoyed a close relationship with Pharnabazos, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom they regularly accompanied on military expeditions against Mysian and Pisidian brigands.[131] As John Ma has recently argued, it is just such a scene that is depicted on the Çan Sarcophagus, dated *c.*400–375 and discovered in the mountainous upper part of the Granikos valley.[132] Finally, as was discussed earlier (section 3.2.2), the Rhodian brothers Memnon and Mentor ruled the Troad *c.*363/2–353/2 and 342–334, and in the intervening decade of their exile Hermias of Atarneus ruled an area encompassing the southern Troad and coastal Aeolis. In a pattern which will now be familiar, Memnon and Mentor based themselves in Lampsakos on the Hellespont in preference to their possessions in the middle Scamander valley such as Kebren and Skepsis, while Hermias split his time between the coastal towns of Assos and Atarneus.

Throughout the period of Achaemenid rule, therefore, we only ever hear about well-connected local elites being based in coastal cities, not in the central Troad. Whoever the important families of Skepsis, Gergis, Kebren, and Neandreia were, they are notable by their absence from the Danube Bridge debate or as the recipients of inquiries from foreign tyrants looking to marry off their children. While we have examples of local dynasts from coastal cities controlling strongholds in the middle Scamander valley (e.g. Zenis, Mania, the usurper

[129] Thuc. 6.59.3.

[130] Phainias of Eresos *FGrHist* IV 1012 F 22 = Plut. *Them.* 29.11, Neanthes of Kyzikos *BNJ* 84 F 17a = Plut. *Them.* 29.11, F 17b and 17c = Σ Ar. *Knights* 84b(II) (*στολή* for *ἀμπεχονή*), Ath. 1.29f (*ἱματισμόν* for *ἀμπεχονή*). Neither is mentioned in Thuc. 1.138.5. For a fourth-century date for Neanthes the Elder see Christopher Baron's biographical essay in *BNJ* 84.

[131] Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10–28. While *Ζῆνις* is a well-attested Greek name (Robert [1966] 80–1), *Μανία* appears to be the feminine form of the Phrygian name *Μάνης* (Masson, *OGS* 3:70–1).

[132] Ma (2008b).

Meidias), we do not find (say) a dynast from Skepsis controlling Lampsakos in this way. When outsiders such as the Rhodians Memnon and Mentor were made dynasts in this region, they make a place like Lampsakos their home and a place like Skepsis their bolt-hole or treasury. It is also in the coastal Troad that we see elite Achaemenid and Greek cultures intermingling, for example the Achaemenid seal ring found in Ilion's Lower City, the statue of Ariobarzanes which once stood in the sanctuary of Athena Ilias, the fourth-century Persianizing dedications from the acropolis of Ilion, or the Achaemenid lion weight from Abydos.[133] It also appears that it was usually the revenues of settlements in the central Troad which were granted to friends of the king (although this is somewhat dependent on the validity of Wilamowitz's emendation of Athenaeus).

A complementary picture emerges if we look at the minting histories of this region's cities during the Classical period.[134] While much work still remains to be done on these coinages, the broad outlines of the story are clear: (1) 520s–480s: high intensity minting of high value coinage, probably to be connected with major Persian campaigns in Thrace, Asia Minor, and Greece in these decades; (2) 420s–380s: widespread but low intensity minting of low value silver coinages intended for local use; (3) 360s–340s: high intensity minting of high value coinage at a large number of mints, again probably to do with Persian military needs. Minting in Period 1 (520s–480s) is dominated by a handful of powerful coastal cities—Abydos, Lampsakos, Mytilene, and to a lesser extent Methymna and Tenedos—which were orders of magnitude more productive than the rest of the region. However, if we set these exceptions aside we are left with a picture in which the active mints in the interior (Kebren and Skepsis) are just as productive as the coastal cities (Assos, Gargara, and Lamponeia). A larger number of coastal cities became active mints in Period 2 (420s–380s) in part thanks to a number of these

[133] Seal Ring: Miller-Collett and Cool Root (1997). Ariobarzanes Statue: Diod. 17.17.6 with Pillot (2016) 140–1. Persianizing Dedications: Berlin (2002) 140–7, Berlin and Lynch (2002). Both papers over-estimate the number of *actual* Iranians in Hellespontine Phrygia, for which see Sekunda (1988). Abydos Weight: Calvert (1860), Mitchell (1973), and the excellent photographs on the British Museum website (*BM* E32625).

[134] The following paragraph draws on ongoing research into these coinages. Statements about the relative output of different mints are based on preliminary die studies which, for reasons of space, will be presented elsewhere.

cities achieving political autonomy following the dissolution of the Mytilenaian *peraia* in 427 (see Chapter 4.2.1). Once again, though, the output of mints in the middle Scamander valley was on a par with, and indeed often exceeded, that of the coastal mints. However, we encounter a very different situation in Period 3 (360s–340s). We see the number of active mints in the interior contract compared to Periods 1–2 (e.g. Birytis, Gergis) and those which are still active have lower outputs than previously (e.g. Kebren, Neandreia, Skepsis). By contrast, among the coastal cities the number of active mints increases (e.g. Ophryneion, Sigeion) and previously active mints (e.g. Abydos, Antandros, Assos, Dardanos, Gargara, Lampsakos) produce by far their largest issues in the Classical period. If, as seems highly likely, these coinages were produced to meet the military expenses of the satrapy, then the low-key role which cities of the interior played in this effort suggests that they were becoming increasingly peripheral in the politics of the region.[135]

This pattern of coastal communities dominating the inland Troad kicked into a higher gear with the advent of the Hellenistic period. The synoikism of Antigoneia Troas *c.*311–301 politically disenfranchised all the communities south of the river in the middle Scamander valley, and over the course of the third and second century Ilion gradually achieved the same north of the river.[136] Especially revealing is the dossier of texts detailing the discussions between Meleagros the *strategos* of the Hellespont and the Seleukid king Antiochos I (r. 281–261) over which estates a friend of the king, Aristodikides of Assos, would be granted in the Troad.[137] Aristodikides is offered the choice of various stretches of arable land amounting to 6,000 *plethra* (*c.*5.4 km^2).[138] The territory must border either Gergitha (= Gergis) or Skepsis, locating it in the middle Scamander valley, and be γῆ ἐργάσιμος (tillable land), indicating that the forested uplands are excluded from consideration.[139]

135 The case for the Period 3 coinages primarily being minted to meet the military expenses of the Persian authorities is made in Ellis-Evans (2018).

136 Ellis-Evans (2017) 46–7.

137 *I. Ilion* 33 (*c.*274).

138 *I. Ilion* 33, pp. 99–100 (6,000), with criticisms of Welles's higher figure of 8,000 *plethra* = 7.2 km^2 (*RC* 11, p. 68). The size of the *plethron* differed depending on the length of foot being used, and I have here used a conservative estimate of 30 × 30 m = 900 m^2 (H.-J. Schulzki, *BNP* s.v. *plethron*). It is not clear what Welles has in mind when he refers to, 'A compact estate of 8000 plethra or 2000 hectaires [*sic*]', since 2,000 ha = 20 km^2.

139 *I. Ilion* 33.20–5.

Given that Aristodikides is being offered a choice as to which stretch of the χώρα βασιλική he is to be granted, we may infer that the extent of royal land in this region was in fact much greater than 6,000 *plethra*. The economic attractiveness of this territory is indicated by the fact that Aristodikides cannot be granted the territory he initially chooses, the Petritis, because it has already been granted to Athenaios, the commander of a Seleukid *naustathmos* on the western coast of the Troad.[140] The territory in question is attached to a fortified village called Petra whose population are termed βασιλικοὶ λαοί. Antiochos emphasizes that this population is under his protection and that if Aristodikides is granted the territory he will be responsible for their well-being.[141] Nevertheless, it is clear that the inhabitants of Petra and others in their position elsewhere in the middle Scamander valley enjoyed a precarious existence: lacking the legal protections of a polis, they are entirely reliant on the continued goodwill and good faith of the king, or rather whichever one of his friends has snapped up their territory.[142]

It is worth noting, finally, that the cities of the middle Scamander valley did not necessarily welcome their political marginalization in the fourth century and their loss of autonomy in the third century. As mentioned, the fourth century ended with Neandreia, Kebren, and Skepsis being synoikized into Antigoneia Troas along with two or three much smaller cities from the coastal Troad (Kolonai, and perhaps also Hamaxitos and Larisa).[143] Skepsis managed to escape this synoikism soon afterwards *c.*300, and Kebren did likewise when it became Antiocheia for a period in the mid-third century.[144] While Neandreia did not likewise manage to secede, it is clear from the city's efforts to redevelop itself in the fourth century that this was not a city in decline and therefore that incorporation into a royal foundation was not necessarily a desired goal for its inhabitants. At some point in the first quarter of the fourth century the city constructed a new

[140] *I. Ilion* 33.50–4, cf. 28–9 for this territory previously belonging to a Meleagros (apparently unrelated to the *strategos* of the Hellespontine satrapy: *I. Ilion* 33, p. 98); discussion in Schuler (1998) 179–80.

[141] *I. Ilion* 33.46–9.

[142] See Schuler (1998) 184.

[143] For the possibility that Hamaxitos and Larisa remained outside the initial synoikism or, at the very least, quickly regained their independence just as Skepsis did see Bresson (2007).

[144] For Kebren's history in the third century see Robert (1951) 16–31 and *contra* Cook (1973) 338–44, with further debate in Robert (1987) 284–5 with n. 23, 292 n. 70 and *contra* Cook (1988) 9, 12, 17–19.

circuit wall which expanded the area of the city protected by fortifications from 8 ha to 40 ha.[145] The walls themselves were of modern design and protected key civic sites, for example the city's main temple and its agora, which had previously lain outside the old sixth-century walls.[146] Over the course of the fourth century the city steadily expanded into this newly fortified space with housing built in accordance with a grid plan.[147] These are the actions of a community which wanted to grow in wealth, power, and status and secure the city's independence for future generations.[148]

For a glimpse of what Neandreia and Kebren's counterfactual histories of continued autonomy in the post-Classical period might have looked like we can turn to Skepsis. Having survived its brush with synoikism in the late 300s BC, Skepsis remained continuously occupied well into the middle Byzantine period.[149] In the Hellenistic period the city was neither as prosperous nor as strategically significant as many of the cities in the coastal Troad. In the third century Skepsis was an occasional but never terribly important mint for Seleukid coinage. It was only active under Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax—not in itself unusual for the Troad—but on both occasions used dies cut elsewhere (Lysimacheia and Alexandreia Troas respectively) and apparently never used more than one obverse die on both occasions.[150] This meagre output is particularly striking in the case of Antiochos Hierax, who based himself in the Hellespont and the Troad and minted extensively at Alexandreia Troas, Ilion, Abydos, and Lampsakos, yet hardly at all at Skepsis.[151] Alongside these occasional royal issues, however, Skepsis produced a voluminous bronze coinage in the third century, and in the late third/early second century it produced its first silver coinage with civic types in over a century and a half with a small issue of tetrobols and diobols on the Attic standard.[152] Following this, however, it produced only two extremely rare issues of bronze coinage in the second and

[145] Schulz (2000) 45–96 (new walls), 107–19 (dating).

[146] Schulz (2000) 39–43 (old walls).

[147] Maischatz (2003) 25–92.

[148] Advantages of Neandreia's site: Sayce (1880) 82, Virchow *ap.* Schliemann (1880) 679.

[149] Synoikism: Strabo 13.1.33. Inscriptions: for the texts, which date from the Classical to Imperial periods, see Robert (1951) 14–15, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1972) nos. 371–2, (1976) nos. 572–3 (= *SEG* 26.1334), *SEG* 46.1575–9.

[150] *SC* 1.493 (Antiochos II), 887 (Antiochos Hierax).

[151] *SC* 1:297–315.

[152] Kagan (1984).

first century.[153] This almost complete absence of coinage until the reign of Augustus may reflect a dip in the city's fortunes post-Apameia, especially when we consider that, as we have seen in Chapter 1.3–4, for many cities in the coastal Troad the period *c.*200–50 marked a high point in their minting activity.[154]

Nevertheless, while Skepsis may not have been the wealthiest or most influential city in the Troad, it retained a vibrant civic culture throughout antiquity and into the early and middle Byzantine periods. The literary figures it produced included Neleus (late fourth century), a Peripatetic philosopher and inheritor of Aristotle's library via his teacher Theophrastos; Demetrios (*c.*205–130), a commentator on the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships whose *parti pris* for Skepsis and contempt for Ilion is a good index of the city's sense of civic pride (see Chapter 1.2); and Metrodoros (*c.*145–70), a philosopher who became an influential friend and advisor of Mithridates VI.[155] Skepsis intermittently produced small issues of provincial coinage from the reign of Augustus through to Hadrian, and then in the Antonine and Severan periods a much broader range of issues which often boldly asserted the city's claim to the region's Homeric heritage, for example identifying Skepsis with Homeric Daradania, advertising the city's links to Aineias and Anchises, and even laying claim to the judgement of Paris.[156] In the fifth century AD it was a suffragan bishopric of Kyzikos,

153 Dionysos facing/Eagle in wreath: *BMC Troas* 83, no. 25 (mid-second century). Head of Dionysos/Thyrsos: *BMC Troas* 83, no. 24 (fourth century in the standard references, but Dionysiac motifs are attested in second century and mark a departure from the dominant Pegasos/pine tree types of the fourth/third century, so a later date ought to be entertained).

154 Kagan (1984) 22–4 suggests the attractive possibility that the apparent decline of Skepsis in the second and first century may have been as a result of siding with Antiochos III in the war with Rome and consequent punishment in the Peace of Apameia. For Skepsis re-using third-century BC dies under Trajan see Wartenberg (2017).

155 Neleus and Aristotle's Library: Moraux (1973–2001) 1:3–31, Amigues (1988–2006) 1:xli–xliii. Demetrios: A. M. Biraschi (ed.), Demetrios of Skepsis, *FGrHist* V 2013. Metrodoros: W. Kroll, *RE* XV 1481–2 s.v. Metrodoros (23).

156 *RPC* 1.2325–6 with *RPC Suppl.* 1–3 (2015) 109 (Augustus), 1.2328–9 (pseudo-autonomous; Augustus?), 1.2327 with *RPC Suppl.* 4 (2017) 66 (possibly Flavian), 2.903 (Vespasian or Titus?), 2.904–5 (Domitian), 3.1583–5 (Trajan), 3.1586–7 (Hadrian), *RPC* 4.200, 2593, 2798 (Antoninus Pius), 4.2462, 9215 (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus), 4.202–3, 9214 (Faustina II), 4.201, 1805, 2594–5 (Marcus Aurelius), 4.8407 (Marcus Aurelius and Commodus), 4.204–7, 2460, 2596, 2598, 3150 (Commodus), 4.2599 (Antonines), *BMC Troas* 83, nos. 26–27 (pseudo-autonomous; Septimius Severus), 84–5, nos. 32–33 (Caracalla), *BNF Fonds Général* 886 (Julia Domna), 888–9 (Caracalla), *RPC* 6.4104–8, 4112–17 (Severus Alexander), 4109–11

while in the ninth century it re-named itself Hagios Kornelios after the unnamed centurion in *Luke* 7:2–10 whom the city now claimed had converted the city back in the first century, only for the Skepsians to 'forget' this momentous event until the rediscovery of the saint's tomb by Silvanus, bishop of (Alexandreia) Troas, in the early fifth century.[157] The city continued to appear in the *Notitiae* until the thirteenthth century, almost sixteen-hundred years after it had been given its second lease of life.[158]

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

The creation of a royal horse stud in the middle Scamander valley in the Classical period and the series of synoikisms and *sympoliteiai* which took place in the Hellenistic period represent a form of regional integration. The creation of the royal horse stud rationalized the rearing of war horses in the wider region and boosted the size of the herds to meet the demand of the Persian state, while the synoikisms and *sympoliteiai* effected by Alexandreia Troas and Ilion removed barriers to the movement of goods and labour between the coastal and inland areas of the Troad. These were, however, not processes of regional integration which were mutually beneficial for all involved. The creation of a royal horse stud in the middle Scamander valley will have taken productive land out of circulation and placed a significant economic burden on the local population, and while Alexandreia Troas and Ilion benefited from acquiring a large and diverse portfolio of territories and enlarging their populations, they

(Julia Mamaea), 4118–19 (Maximinus). NB—All *RPC* 4 and 6 numbers temporary. Judgement of Paris: *BNF* R 3911 (Septimius Severus), *Fonds Général* 889 (Caracalla).

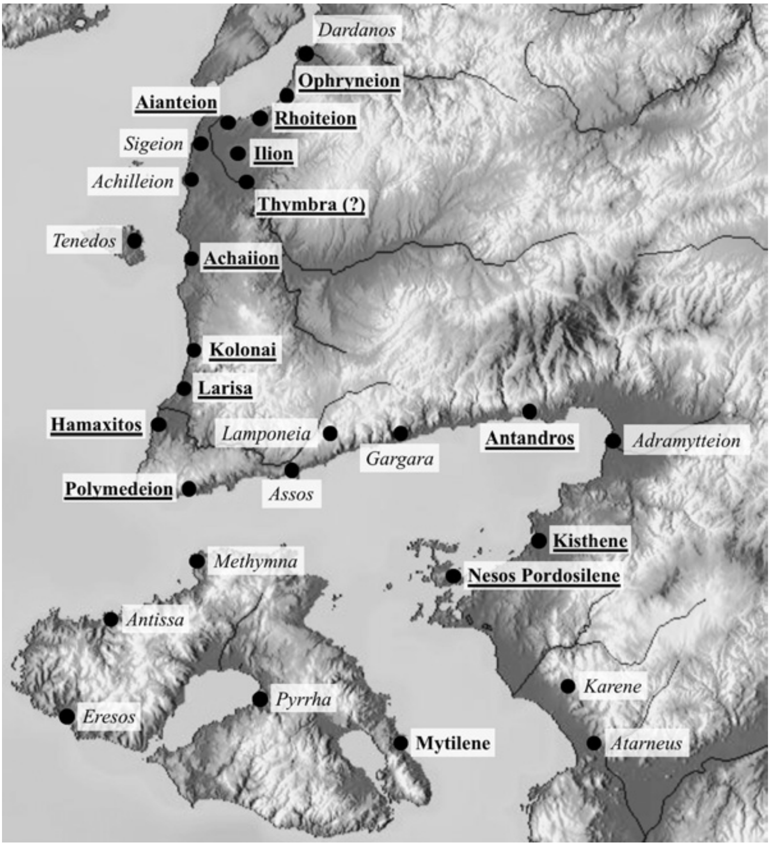
[157] Suffragan of Kyzikos: *ACO* 1.1.2, 1.1.7 (AD 431), *ACO* 2.1.2 (AD 451). Hagios Kornelios: in a *Notitia* of the early ninth century it is referred to as ὁ τοῦ Ἁγίου Κορνηλίου ἤτοι τῆς Σκήψεως (*Not. Ep.* 7.191) and thereafter only as Hagios Kornelios. Bishop Samuel of Hagios Kornelios is attested in 879/80 (*PmbZ* II.vi.26979) and Bishop Anthimos in the late ninth and early tenth century (*PmbZ* II.i.20465). For the *Acts of Cornelius the Centurion*, apparently composed in the late tenth century, see Burke and Witakowski (2016).

[158] *Not. Ep.* 9.88, 10 col. I.93, 13.95. For discussion of dates see Darrouzès (1981) 78, 92–4, 116–17, 140–1.

profited at the expense of communities which ultimately lost their political sovereignty and communal identity in the process.

It was, of course, inevitable that a number of the smaller communities in both the coastal and inland Troad which scraped by in the Classical period would be swallowed up by their larger neighbours, preferring to live as part of a larger and more prosperous community.[159] However, the considerable resources of the middle Scamander valley and the upland forests of the Ida range which encircled it were more than capable of supporting a number of cities which did not just scrape by, but prospered. As we have seen, Neandreia, Kebren, and Skepsis were all viable communities in the fourth century with no obvious need or desire to be integrated into cities a day's walk away or more down on the coast, as is demonstrated at Neandreia by the city's investment in new fortifications and urban expansion within the new walls, at Kebren by its efforts to separate itself from Alexandreia Troas in the third century, and at Skepsis, following its brush with synoikism, by its long history stretching deep into the middle Byzantine period. It may be that if we had more information on Skamandreia and Gergis, whose sites are archaeologically inaccessible beneath the pine forests of the Ida range, we would discover that these cities too had plans for their future which did not involve becoming outlying districts of Ilion.

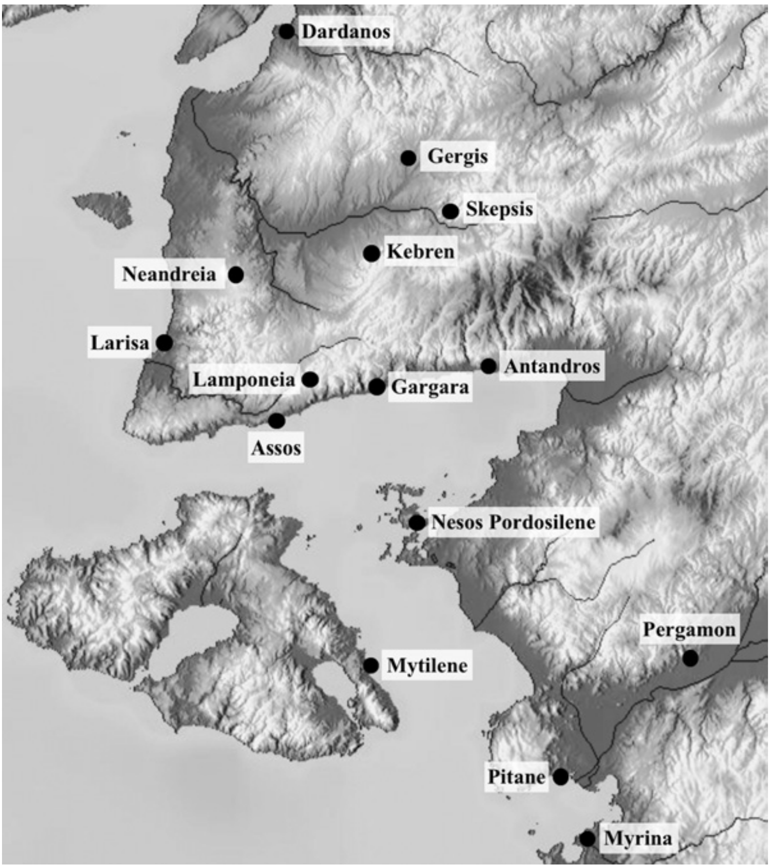
[159] For this line of argument see, for example, Bresson (2007) on Hamaxitos.



Map 4.1. Mytilene's *peraia* in the Troad and northern Aiolis pre-427 BC. Place names in bold and underlined either certainly or possibly belonged to the *peraia*.

4

The Mytilenaian *Peraia* and the Aktaian Cities



Map 4.2. Mytilene's commercial network on the mainland *c.*427–405 BC.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first half of this book I looked at the human and geographical factors which worked to integrate the Troad into a coherent region (Chapters 1–2) and the power relations immanent in these processes (Chapter 3). As I have argued, while regional integration *could* be a positive and mutually beneficial process for all involved (thus the koinon of Athena Ilias: Chapter 1), it could equally operate as a zero-sum game which produced both winners and losers (thus the expansionism of Ilion and Alexandreia Troas: Chapter 3). In the second half of this book I turn my attention to the case of Lesbos which allows us to explore the same questions but in the rather different geographic context of a large offshore island whose physical geography is no less complex and heterogeneous than that of the Troad. In addition to the basic questions which I asked of the Troad in Chapters 1–3—How did regional integration work in this region, and was it a mutually beneficial process or one which produced winners and losers?—we can now add a third question: To what extent was the island of Lesbos integrated into the world of mainland Anatolia?

This latter question is of particular interest because, until comparatively recently, it has been common to view islands as being isolated from the outside world by the sea which encircles them. Certainly, this is a reasonable assumption to make in the case of oceanic islands which can be vast distances from their nearest neighbour and extremely difficult to reach, as is reflected in their comparatively limited biodiversity and stochastic history of settlement.[1] However, it is rather harder to make this argument in the case of Mediterranean islands, all of which are either in sight of another island or of the mainland, and it becomes quite implausible in the case of the Aegean which is densely packed with hundreds of islands and islets.[2] That scholars have nevertheless treated Aegean islands as being comparatively less well connected to the world around them than places on the mainland is the result of taking the ancient sources at their word when they imagine islands to be remote and rarely visited locales and when they represent sea travel as a terrible evil to be avoided unless absolutely necessary. However, as we have already

[1] Fitzpatrick and Anderson (2008).
[2] Horden and Purcell (2000) 127, map 9 (visibility of the land from the sea).

seen in the case of the forests of Mt Ida (Chapter 2), the ideological work which an environment performs in a society's social imaginary is often quite uninfluenced by the reality of how that environment actually functions. Indeed, in the case of islands, it has been argued that, because it is quicker and cheaper to travel by sea than by land, islands are in fact *better* connected to the world around them and *more* sensitive to the dynamics of the networks to which they belong precisely because they are surrounded by the sea, rather than in spite of this fact.[3]

Given this, it makes no more sense to study Lesbos in isolation from mainland Asia Minor than it does to study individual parts of Lesbos in isolation from the rest of the island. Indeed, as discussed in the introduction to this book, the one period in which Lesbos really has been quite disconnected from the mainland (i.e. since 1922) is a deeply unusual example of politics overriding geography and one which is otherwise unparalleled in the island's history. However, despite this, and despite the proximity of Lesbos to the mainland (the distance is as little as 10 km in places), the island has often been studied either in splendid isolation from the world around it or, conversely, in relation to the grand axes of commerce which criss-cross the Mediterranean.[4] By contrast, much less attention has been given to the island's relationship to the parts of mainland Asia Minor right on its doorstep which will be the subject of this chapter and Chapter 6.[5]

To the best of our knowledge, Mytilene was unique among the cities of Lesbos in not just trading with the mainland, but actually controlling territory there.[6] From at least the late seventh century

[3] Purcell (1995), Broodbank (2000), Horden and Purcell (2000) 74–7, 224–30.

[4] Splendid isolation: Labarre (1996a) (Hellenistic–Roman), Levang (1972) (Roman), Kaldellis (2002) (Late Antique–Early Byzantine). Grand axes of commerce: Bresson (2000, first publ. 1983), Spencer (2000), to some extent Kaldellis and Efthymiadis (2010) on Byzantine Lesbos, although note the good remarks on the importance of connectivity to the island at pp. 44–5.

[5] For studies of *peraiai* in general see Funke (1999) and Constantakopoulou (2007) 228–52. Kontis (1978) has a promising title (*Λέσβος καί ἡ Μικρασιατική τῆς περιοχή*), but is primarily about the archaeology of Lesbos (only pp. 58–115 relate to the mainland).

[6] It is sometimes claimed that Assos was part of a Methymnaian *peraia* on the basis of Strabo 13.1.58: *φησὶ δὲ Μυρσίλος* [*FGrHist* 477 F 17] *Μηθυμναίων κτίσμα εἶναι τὴν Ἄσσον, Ἑλλάνικος* [*BNJ* 4 F 160] *τὲ καὶ Αἰολίδα φησίν· ὥστε καὶ τὰ Γάργαρα καὶ ἡ Λαμπώνεια Αἰολέων· Ἀσσίων γάρ ἐστι κτίσμα τὰ Γάργαρα* ('Myrsilos says that Assos is a foundation of the Methymnaians; Hellanikos also says that it is Aiolian. Therefore, both Gargara and Lamponeia are Aiolian, for Gargara is a foundation of the Assians')—see e.g. Robert (1951) 11, Mason (1993) 226–7, Brun (1996) 13 n. 25, Labarre (1996a) 201.

down to 427 Mytilene possessed an extensive patchwork of territories along the coastal Troad and in northern Aiolis which scholars conventionally term the '*peraia*'. At its greatest extent, this territory constituted a combined area several times greater than the city's already substantial *chora* on Lesbos itself (*c.*450–500 km^2).[7] Indeed, as David Lewis astutely observed, the loss of these mainland territories in 427 following Mytilene's failed revolt against Athens was probably a far greater financial blow to the elites of Mytilene than even the imposition of an Athenian cleruchy on the island in the same year.[8] Even after 427, Mytilene continued to control territory in northern Aiolis right down into the Imperial period which would be of great significance to the city (see Chapter 6). Possession of these mainland territories gave Mytilene a distinct advantage over its neighbours on Lesbos throughout antiquity, and as a result represents a particularly clear example of how the relationship between Lesbos and the mainland could have a profound impact on the internal dynamic of the island.

This chapter draws on two quite different bodies of evidence to illuminate Mytilene's relationship with the mainland in the fifth century from two very different perspectives: the Athenian tribute assessment decrees of 425/4 and 422/1 and the fractional silver coinage which mints in this region produced in the last quarter of the fifth century. The Athenian tribute assessment decrees from 425/4 and 422/1 are difficult documents to work with, but nevertheless represent our best (albeit indirect) source of evidence for how Mytilene may have run the *peraia* before 427. A re-examination of these decrees and comparison with other *peraiai* around the Aegean suggest that this would have been an exploitative relationship in which Mytilene suppressed polis status in the *peraia* in order to profit more

There are two objections. Firstly, Myrsilos only says that Assos is a foundation of Methymna, not that it still belongs to the city (and this is not how *apoikiai* work anyway: see section 4.2.4 below for this distinction). The point of the passage is instead to establish by what means Gargara and Lamponeia are ethnically Aiolian: Cook (1973) 264 n. 1. Secondly, even if Assos *had* at some point been part of a Methymnaian *peraia* (for which there is no evidence), the Athenian tribute lists indicate that this was no longer the case by, at the latest, 478 when the Delian League was founded, since Assos is always separately assessed: Cook (1973) 246 n. 2.

[7] *IACP* p. 1026.

[8] D. M. Lewis, *CR* 33.1 (1983) 146. Likewise, Deramaix (2015) speculates that it was a perceived Athenian threat to the *peraia* which prompted the Samians to revolt in 441/0.

effectively from these territories. The Mytilenaian *peraia* therefore represents an example of how regional integration can be an exploitative process which we can compare to the impact on the Troad and, in particular, on the middle Scamander valley of the expansionism of Ilion and Alexandreia Troas in the Hellenistic period (Chapter 3).

Although this particular process of island-mainland integration (i.e. direct political control over a *peraia*) is attested in both literary and epigraphic sources, it was only experienced by Mytilene, and even in Mytilene's case was probably quite unrepresentative of the majority of its island-mainland interactions. By contrast, the innumerable commercial contacts which will have made up the bulk of interactions between the cities of Lesbos and those of the mainland, and will therefore have represented a much more pervasive form of regional integration, are extremely difficult to identify in our literary and epigraphic sources. It is, however, possible to trace these commercial networks through the evidence of locally produced fractional silver coinages which reveal that, even after Mytilene had lost its *peraia* in 427, the city's commercial might meant that it still continued to exert a significant influence on the mainland.

4.2 THE MYTILENAIAN *PERAIA*

4.2.1 The Aktaian Cities

When Athens brought the Mytilenaian revolt to an end in summer 427 it punished Mytilene in a variety of ways intended to weaken the city and thus prevent it from revolting again.[9] Thucydides tells us that, in addition to several other punishments, 'The Athenians also took possession of all the towns (*polismata*) on the mainland which the Mytilenaians controlled, and these were thereafter subject to the Athenians'.[10] The *polismata* in question were the settlements in Mytilene's former *peraia* which now became tribute-paying members of the Delian League. At some point between summer 427 and the tribute assessment decree of 425/4 the Athenians decided to gather these settlements into a new tribute district termed the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλες*

[9] Thuc. 3.50.1–2. For further discussion of these punishments see section 4.2.2 below.
[10] Thuc. 3.50.3: *παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων.*

(the 'coastal cities') rather than incorporate them within the pre-existing Hellespontine and Ionian tribute districts which lay to the north and south of Mt Ida respectively. When Thucydides refers again to these cities in the context of events in 424 he adopts the terminology of the tribute assessment decree and terms them Aktaian cities.[11]

The Athenian designation of these communities as poleis in 425/4 has led scholars to assume that this was also their status before 427. For example, in his typology of dependent poleis Mogens Hansen used the example of the Aktaian cities as proof that *peraia* communities enjoyed polis status.[12] If this were correct, then it would mean that the inhabitants of the *peraia* would have enjoyed all the legal rights of belonging to a polis while under Mytilenaian rule, and consequently that the relationship between island and mainland, although unequal, would not necessarily have been completely exploitative. However, more careful consideration of the tribute assessment decrees of 425/4 and 422/1 suggests that many of the places listed under the rubric *Ἀκταῖαι πόλες* were not in fact poleis, and therefore that this rubric is not a reliable guide to the political status of these places in 425, never mind prior to 427. The misconception that all the places listed under this rubric could indeed be poleis has persisted in part because of the highly fragmentary nature of these two decrees and in part because of the characteristically over-confident restoration of these texts by the editors of the *Athenian Tribute Lists* (henceforth *ATL*).[13]

***IG* I³ 71.III.124–41 (425/4 BC)**			***IG* I³ 77.IV.14–27 (422/1 BC)**[14]		
124		*Ἀκτα̣[ῖαι πόλες]*	**14**		*[Ἀκ]ταῖαι πόλες*
	[𐅉]𐅈̣	*[Ἄντανδρος]*		[𐅈T]TT	*Ἄνταν[δ]ρο[ς]*
	[𐅈T]TT	*[Ῥοίτειον]*		[. . .] *vacat*	*Ῥοίτειον*
	— — —	*[Νε̂σος]*		— — — —	*Νε̂σος*
					Πορδοσελένε

[11] Thuc. 4.52.3: *καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας, ἃς πρότερον Μυτιληναίων νεμομένων Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἄντανδρον* ('And it was their plan to free the rest of the Aktaian cities, formerly owned by Mytilene but now held by the Athenians, and Antandros in particular').

[12] *IACP* pp. 87, 89–90.

[13] For this problem with the texts in *ATL* see already G. Klaffenbach, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 71 (1950) 33–8 and J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1951) no. 69. For good comments on this see Hornblower (1991–2008) 2:6–7, 211–12, 376–7, 478–9.

[14] As Kallet (2004) 468 notes, the 422/1 date for this assessment, while conventional, is not necessarily secure since we lack the decree preceding this list.

128		[*Πορδοσελένε*]	**18**	— — — —	[*Ἀμαχ*]*σιτός*
	TTTT	*ḥ*[*αμαχσιτός*]		— — — —	[*Λάρι*]*σα*
	TTT	*Λ̣*[*άρισα*]		— — — —	[*Ὀφρύν*]*ειον*
	𐅃	*Ὀ̣*[*φρύνειον*]		— — — —	[*Ἴλιον*]
132	TT	*Ἴ*[*λιον*]	**22**	— — — —	[*Πέτρα*]
	TT	*Π̣*[*έτρα*]		— — — —	[*Ἀχίλλε*]*ιον*
	TXXX	*Θ̣*[*ύμβρα*]		— — — —	[. . . 7 . . .] *vacat*
	X	*Κ*[*ολόνε*]		— — — —	[. . . 8 . . . .] *vacat*
136	𐅃	*Π*[*αλαμέδειον*]	**26**	[*Ἀκταίο φόρο*]	
	— — —	*Ἀ*[*χίλλειον*]		[*κεφάλαιον* :— — — — — — —]	
	— — —	— — — — —			
	[*Ἀκταίο φόρο*]				
140	[*κεφάλαιον*]				
	— — —				

[*lacuna*?]

The 422/1 list is much better preserved than the 425/4 list. In addition to three complete toponyms (Antandros, Rhoiteion, and Nesos Pordosilene), the 422/1 list preserves either word ends or blank spaces indicating the maximum number of letters for the missing toponym for eight more entries. In combination with the rigid application of the stoichedon grid, this tells us the maximum letter length for each missing toponym. The 'Aktaian' cities will, as their name suggests, have been located on or very near the coast, and in general we are unusually well-informed about the toponyms of the Troad littoral because of the region's fame in antiquity and above all because of Strabo's particular interest in it (see Chapter 1.2).[15] As a result, we are in a position to restore most of the entries on the 422/1 list with some confidence. For example, in line 18 we need a toponym which is nine letters long and terminates in –*σιτος*: the only candidate is [*Ἀμαχ*]*σιτός*.[16] The same argument can be made for [*Λάρι*]*σα* in line 19 and for a combination of [*Ὀφρύν*]*ειον* and [*Αἰαντ*]*εῖον* in lines

[15] Cook (1973) 14.

[16] Cook (1973) 197, Carusi (2003) 34. A copy of the so-called 'Standards Decree' (*IG* I^3 1454ter) was found at the nearby village of Gülpınar, independently confirming that Hamaxitos was a member of the Delian League.

20 and 23.[17] More problematically, lines 21–2 both require a toponym with a maximum length of five letters: the two possibilities known to us are [*Ἴλιον*] and [*Πέτρα*], but both restorations are of course far from secure.[18]

Since the 422/1 list is therefore much better understood than the 425/4 list, the *ATL* editors suggested that the sequence of entries in the 422/1 list could be used to restore the 425/4 list.[19] This would be highly convenient if it were the case, but the sequence of entries does not necessarily remain the same elsewhere in the tribute lists, and almost certainly does not do so here.[20] In lines 125–6 of the 425/4 list, *ATL* argued that the order of Antandros and Rhoiteion was secured by their tribute amounts, in particular linking Rhoiteion's amount to the episode in Thucydides where Mytilenaian exiles seize Rhoiteion and ransom the city.[21] They explained away the fact that the 'right' tribute amount was rather inconveniently beside the 'wrong' city as a mason's error.[22] However, Lisa Kallet has exposed the circular reasoning here and argued that the two pieces of information (i.e. the tribute amount and the seizure of Rhoiteion) are mutually irrelevant.[23] In lines 127–8, *ATL* insisted that there were insufficient *stoichoi* for Nesos Pordosilene to fit on one line.[24] However, Cristina Carusi has demonstrated that this is not the case, and so the toponym can fit on a single line as it also does in the 422/1 list, thus creating a gap which

[17] Larisa: for Larisa as part of the *peraia* of Mytilene rather than Tenedos see Ellis-Evans (2017) 41 n. 55 on the textual crux at Strabo 13.1.47. Ophryneion: for one of the Hermokopidai earning revenue from property in the city's territory see *IG* I^3 430.10–11 (414/13 BC) and for the rest of the evidence for Classical Ophryneion Hornblower (2015) 422–9. Aianteion: for the question of its status in the Classical period see Cook (1973) 86–7.

[18] There is an apparent reference to Ilion as an Aktaian city in Strabo 13.1.39: *Θουκυδίδης δέ φησιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν Τροίαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Μιτυληναίους ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Παχητείῳ* ('Thucydides says that Troia was taken away from the Mytilenaians in the Pachetian part of the Peloponnesian War'). However, this does not correspond to any particular passage in Thucydides and so Radt (2002–11) 7:487 may well be correct to think that Strabo is referring to the region as a whole, not the city of Ilion specifically (as the Loeb translation of *Τροία* as 'Troy' implies).

[19] For this principal of restoration see Meritt and West (1934) 34, 79–82 and *ATL* 2:200; also endorsed by the otherwise highly critical Dow (1941) 83.

[20] Carusi (2003) 26, Paarmann (2004). The point is conceded but not acted upon by Meritt and West (1934) 81–2.

[21] *ATL* 3:88 on Thuc. 4.52.3 (summer 424).

[22] Meritt and West (1934) 82.

[23] Kallet-Marx (1993) 155–9.

[24] Meritt and West (1934) 79, *ATL* 1:207 and *Gazetteer* s.vv. *Νῆσος*, *Πορδοσελήνη*.

breaks the sequence of entries.[25] In line 129, Hamaxitos is restored on the basis of the bottom of a vertical *hasta*. However, it is not spelled with an eta for aspirate in the 422/1 list, and so need not be here.[26] The only reason to insist on doing so is to retain the sequence of the two lists—another circular argument. Finally, the letter traces in lines 129, 132, and 133 are so meagre that one could easily read them as five or six other letters in each case (see Figure 4.1.a and b).

Several of *ATL*'s other restorations refer to settlements which either did not exist at this time or which are highly unlikely to have been poleis. Regarding the restoration of Ilion in line 132, recent excavations have shown that the Hisarlık site was pretty much abandoned for most of the fifth century.[27] In line 133, Petra is doubtful for two reasons: firstly, the only evidence we have for it is a letter from Antiochos I *c.*274 referring to it as a *χωρίον* in which the *βασιλικοὶ λαοί* reside, and, secondly, the rest of the letter makes it clear that Petra is located somewhere in the middle Scamander valley, and therefore can hardly count as 'Aktaian'.[28] In line 136, Palamedeion cannot remain, since it is not attested until the Imperial period, and then as the site of a cult to Palamedes, not a settlement.[29] In earlier periods, we only know of a Hellenistic *χωρίον* called Polymedeion at this location which is equally unlikely to have been a fifth-century polis.[30] In line 137, Achilleion has now been excavated and shown to have been a small fort between the 580s and 530s before being abandoned until the early third century when it once again served as a fort.[31] In sum, rather than the twelve toponyms over thirteen lines restored by *ATL*, we instead have eight toponyms over thirteen lines, and therefore need to find another five poleis in order to justify the rubric *Ἀκταῖαι πόλες*.

[25] Carusi (2003) 25–7.

[26] It should be noted that the tribute lists can be inconsistent in their use of aspirates: Carusi (2003) 35 n. 23.

[27] Lawall (2002) 207.

[28] *I. Ilion* 33.46–9. See already the doubts of Cook (1973) 365–6 and Carusi (2003) 38–9.

[29] See Philostr. *VA* 4.13 and Cook (1973) 238 n. 1 on Plin. *HN* 5.123.

[30] E. Kirsten, *RE* XXI.2 1764–6 s.v. Polymedion, Cook (1973) 238–9. Kirsten is probably right that the long-deserted settlement of *Πολυμήδ(ε)ιον* was creatively interpreted as a corruption of *Παλαμήδειον* in the Imperial era (cf. *Ἀχίλλειον*, *Αἰαντεῖον*, *Ἀχαίιον*, etc.) and only then became a cult site for Palamedes.

[31] Evidence discussed in Ellis-Evans (2017) 33–9.

Figure 4.1. (a) Squeeze of the Aktaian panel of the 425/4 BC tribute assessment decree, *IG* I^3 71.III.124–41. (b) Squeeze of the Aktaian panel of the 425/4 BC tribute assessment decree, *IG* I^3 77.IV.14–27.

After these thirteen lines of toponyms, *ATL* restored the tribute total on two lines and posited a ten- to eleven-line *lacuna* until the beginning of the Thracian panel (Figure 4.2.a–b). The editors noted that the tribute amounts in the Thracian panel began in *stoichos* 39, and that on fr. 36 this was blank from lines 140–52, suggesting that no tribute amounts (and therefore no tribute-payers) were listed here on the preceding Aktaian panel. However, this is incorrect since, as the editors themselves had proved when joining frr. 35 and 36, the assessment amounts of the Aktaian panel in fact begin in

Figure 4.1. Continued

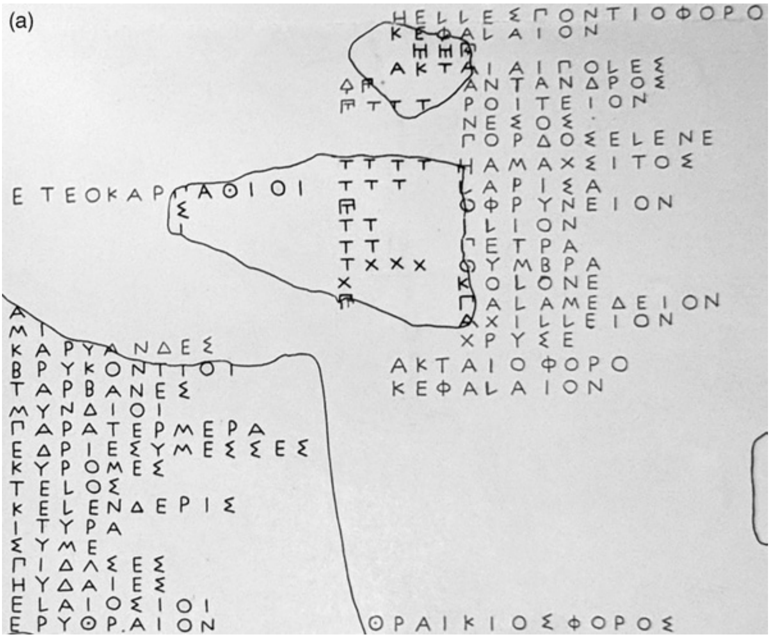


Figure 4.2. (a) Drawing of the placement of frs 34–6 of *IG* I^3 71 and proposed restorations. Meritt and West (1934) Plate 2. (b) Schematic drawing illustrating how the stoichedon grid overlays frs 34–6 of *IG* I^3 71: Dow (1941) 75.

stoichos 40.[32] As Sterling Dow concluded, there is therefore no positive evidence for a lacuna here.[33] Gaps between different panels are known, but are typically only one line long. When we encounter longer gaps, they mark a break between the decree and the lists, the lists and the grand total, or highlight special rubrics. Legibility was important in such a long inscription, but all our evidence indicates that *within* the lists this was achieved through indentation rather than long gaps. The available comparanda likewise indicate that a ten- to

32 Summarized in Dow (1941) 72–4.

33 Dow (1941) 71–8 with J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1944) no. 52. Meritt and West (1934) 79 conceded the point: 'It is impossible to say whether other names were once inscribed below fragment 35, where the stone is now broken away, but this is no reason, epigraphically, why there may not have been several more names.' Contrast *ATL* 2:43: '[Dow] has demonstrated the epigraphical possibility of restoring [more names], but not the necessity or, in our judgement, the historical probability.'

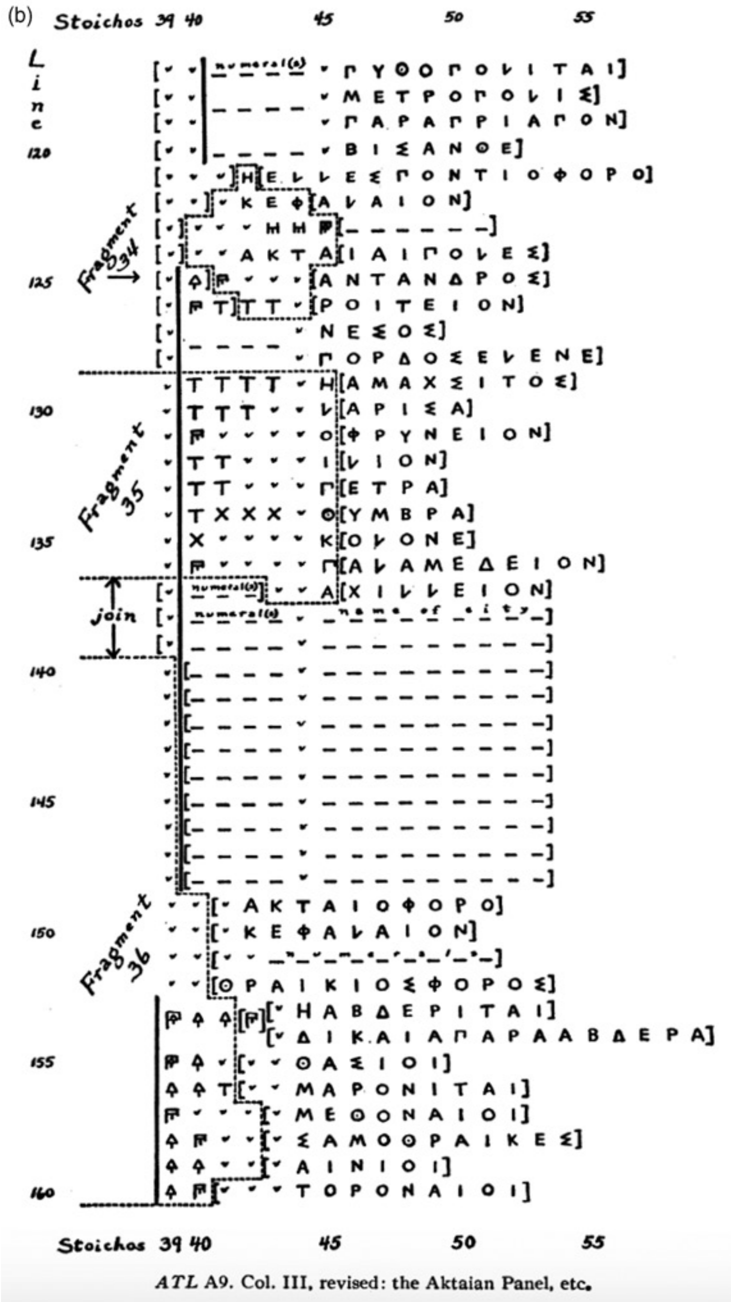


Figure 4.2. Continued

eleven-line gap would be completely unexpected. For example, no gap is left on fr. 34 between the Hellespontine and Aktaian panels, nor on fr. 38 between the Thracian and Euxine panels.[34] There is likewise no gap on the 422/1 list between the Hellespontine and Aktaian panels. It therefore seems very likely that another ten to eleven poleis are needed on top of the five already 'missing' from the list, meaning that fifteen to sixteen more poleis need to be found for the term 'polis' in the rubric to be taken at face value as being the political and legal status of these communities.

Dow was aware of the predicament which his argument caused, but was under the impression that enough poleis could be found.[35] However, because we are unusually well informed about settlements of the coastal Troad, in large part thanks to Strabo's particular interest in the region, we can in fact be sure that this is not the case.[36] It is only possible to find three realistic candidates to fill these fifteen to sixteen lines, and there are problems with all of them.[37] While we sometimes

[34] Evidence surveyed in Dow (1941) 77–8.

[35] Dow (1941) 83, cf. Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 199.

[36] We can immediately exclude all cities firmly attested in the Hellespontine or Ionian tribute districts and which lay north of Dardanos or south of Atarneus (the northern and southern limits of the Mytilenaian presence on the mainland at any period). Marpessos, Skamandreia, Gergis, and Kokkylion, (*IACP* pp. 1001–2, nos. 777, 781) are all further inland than cities beyond the edge of Mytilene's *peraia*. Miletos, Chryse, Lyrnessos, and Thebe (*IACP* pp. 1001, 1036–7, no. 834) probably lay within the territory of Persian-controlled Adramytteion, and only Thebe is firmly attested as a polis in the fourth century. Birytis and Polichna (*IACP* nos. 773, 789) probably belonged to the Hellespontine district, Karene (*IACP* no. 813) to the Ionian district, *pace ATL* 1:495–6. Chrysa and Polymedeion (*IACP* pp. 1001–2) are only attested as forts in the Hellenistic period, Smintheion (*IACP* p. 1002) was only ever a sanctuary, Pedasos (*IACP* p. 1002) is probably mythical, and Koryphas, Attea, and Herakleia are only attested as villages in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods (*IACP* does not even discuss them). Achilleion was abandoned in this period (and in any case only ever a fort), while Achaiion was part of the Tenedian *peraia* at this time: Ellis-Evans (2017) 33–44. Very little is known about Polion and Malene (*IACP* pp. 1002, 1037), but they are not thought to have been poleis.

[37] Possibilities: (1) Aianteion (*IACP* p. 1001) is a harbour settlement mentioned in the Chabrias decree (*SEG* 19.204b lines 2–3, *c.*375 BC): Robert (1951) 8–9 n. 4 thought it was a polis, but Cook (1973) 86–7 considered it little more than a landing stage ('iskele'); (2) Thymbra (*IACP* p. 1002) is conventionally located in the SE of the Trojan Plain and associated with bronze coinage produced in the fourth century BC. An Archaic and Classical graveyard has been found in this area, but not the settlement itself. Revisiting the numismatic evidence, Lenger (2017) has now argued that Thymbra was not in fact located in the Troad but instead in northern Lydia; (3) Kisthene (*IACP* no. 815) allegedly paid a 100 T fine to Agesilaos in 397 (Isoc. 4.153) but is otherwise not known except from its modest coinage and a notice in Strabo 13.1.51 that it was abandoned by the reign of Augustus.

encounter names written over two lines in the tribute assessment decrees and tribute payment lists, it is highly unlikely that we would encounter a whole series of them all at once, and this would still leave us with seven or so places to find. It is only possible to fill the gaps (which, given the epigraphic comparanda, we can be confident *were* filled) by resorting to settlements at a sub-polis level, for example villages, forts, cult sites, landing stages, and so on. Ironically, *ATL* may have been correct to restore some of these dubious toponyms, but wrong to think they were really poleis.

We must therefore conclude that at least half the places which the Athenians designated as poleis in the 425/4 list did not in fact merit this status. While some of these places clearly could have been poleis pre-427 given their size, archaeological remains, and literary references to their status (e.g. Antandros), the majority could not be considered poleis even on the most generous definition of the term. The political status of the Aktaian cities before 427 cannot, therefore, be determined simply on the basis of the rubric in the tribute assessment decrees. Instead, we need to understand, firstly, what may have motivated Athens to represent the Aktaian cities as poleis at a time when only some of these places merited that status and, secondly, whether it would likewise have been in Mytilene's interests to consider these places poleis before 427 when they still belonged to the *peraia*.

4.2.2 Athens and the Aktaian Cities

In extending polis status to the Aktaian cities, Athens was motivated by both ideological and strategic considerations. Ideologically, the key context is the tribute assessment decree of 425/4 in which we first encounter the Aktaian panel. The decree records a far larger number of tribute payers overall than are attested in other surviving assessment decrees and payment lists (*c.*380–400 as opposed to *c.*180 cities).[38] These much higher numbers were achieved through a variety of methods, for example the addition of two new panels (the Aktaian and Euxine), the inclusion of all places which had ever paid tribute, even if they had not done so for some time (e.g. minor Karian cities which had lapsed in the 440s; cities in Pamphylia and Cilicia

[38] *ATL* 1:216–441.

which had probably not been under Athenian influence since the campaigns of Kimon in the 460s), and the inclusion of cities which Athens wished to have within her sphere but did not actually control (e.g. Melos, which had resisted an Athenian attack as recently as 426; Thera, which was ostensibly neutral).[39]

The decree is also notable for assessing the allies at what appear to be unusually high levels. This was by design, since the decree states that, 'No city shall be assessed a smaller amount of tribute than whatever it may have paid before this unless some insufficiency in the *chora* appears with the result that it cannot pay more.'[40] As a result, the majority of tribute amounts are double or triple pre-war levels, and it may well be that in the total assessed amount (where the crucial first numeral is missing) it is right to restore the figure as 1,460–1,500 T as opposed to 960–1,000 T.[41] Kallet has rightly argued that it is highly unlikely this hike in the tribute assessment actually led to greater amounts of tribute being received in the following year, especially given how the war went against Athens on several fronts in 424. Rather, the purpose of inscribing on a twenty-foot stele the wish list of tribute-payers drawn up by the *taktai* along with the unrealistically high tribute assessments imposed by the *bouleutai* was to impress upon both the Athenians and their allies the extraordinary size and wealth of the Athenian empire.[42] It is therefore of a piece with all the other exaggerations in this inscription that the Athenians should choose to present the recently acquired Aktaian cities as representing an influx of perhaps as many as twenty-five tribute-paying poleis, when in reality they probably represented no more than ten new allies.

However, while the drafting of the tribute assessment decree was clearly influenced by the ideological priorities of the Athenian Empire, strategic considerations may also have been at work. Empires often use tax demands not just to raise revenue, but also for political ends. Tax can be used as a technology of control which locks an empire's subjects into a system whereby lower taxes can only be achieved through loyalty, while refusal to pay provides a convenient

[39] Meiggs (1972) 327–31.

[40] *IG* I^3 71.21–2: *τ̣|[ὸ]ν δὲ φόρο[ν ὀλέζ]ο μὲ π̣[όλει νῦν ταχσάντ]ον μ[ε]δεμιᾶι ἒ hο[πόσον πρὸ τô ἐτύγχανον ἀπάγ]οντ̣|[ες] ἐὰμ μέ τ[ις φαίν]ετα[ι ἀπορία hόστε ὅσ]ες τ[ε̂]ς χόρας ἀδυ[νάτο μὲ πλείο ἀπάγεν].*

[41] Meiggs (1972) 327, Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 193–4, Kallet-Marx (1993) 165–6.

[42] Kallet-Marx (1993) 164–70, 191–4, Fornara (2003) with *SEG* 53.62 n. 2.

justification for imperial intervention in local politics. It is possible that the Athenians viewed the tribute assessment decrees in just this way. In 430, 428, and 424 we have references to *ἀργυρόλογοι νῆες* (money-collecting ships) operating in border regions of the Athenian Empire (south-eastern Lykia in 430, the Maeander valley in 428, the Strymon valley and the Propontis and Pontos in 424).[43] As Kallet has rightly pointed out, it is problematic to associate these ships automatically with tribute collection when a tribute reassessment is only attested for 425/4 (in circular fashion, tribute list fragments have been assigned to 430 and 428 based on the presumed purpose of these ships, and the purpose of these ships established with reference to this dating of the fragments).[44] However, at least in the case of the money-collecting ships at Eion on the Strymon in 424, Thucydides explicitly connects their presence in the region to collecting tribute from the allies.[45] Moreover, his chronological indication (*τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος*) is compatible with the schedule set out in the tribute assessment decree of 425/4 which calls for the hearings at which the allies may dispute their assessment to be over by the end of Poseidon (i.e. at some point in January) and thus by implication for the tribute collection ships to be sent out soon afterwards.[46] Thus, another purpose of the ambitious assessment in 425/4 may have been not just to impress Athenian citizens with the reach of their empire, but also to provide an excuse for sending out military forces to push the boundaries of the Athenian sphere of influence.

The Athenians may likewise have had strategic considerations in mind when they chose to treat all the communities in the former Mytilenaian *peraia* as poleis irrespective of size or significance. The aim of all the punishments imposed on Mytilene was to undermine the city's strength so as to prevent another revolt. For example, around a thousand individuals who were considered most responsible for the revolt were put to death, no doubt causing untold chaos in the internal politics of the city and in its property regime.[47] The city's walls were

[43] Thuc. 2.69 (430), 3.19 (428), 4.50.1, 4.75 (424).

[44] Kallet-Marx (1993) 160–4.

[45] Thuc. 4.50.1: *Ἀριστείδης ὁ Ἀρχίππου, εἷς τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, αἳ ἐξεπέμφθησαν πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους.*

[46] Meiggs (1972) 324–5.

[47] Thuc. 3.50.1. For a sense of the social dislocation which can result from such violent regime changes compare the later reconciliation decrees from Mytilene: RO 85 (332 or 324).

demolished and Athens confiscated Mytilene's considerable navy (*Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον*) which had often supported the Athenian Empire's operations in the past, thus neutering Mytilene as a military power. Finally, the imposition of an Athenian cleruchy resulted in the cities of Lesbos except for loyal Methymna being stripped of their territory and compelled to pay rent to the Athenian cleruchs if they wished to continue working their land.[48] In the same way, by dismantling the *peraia* the Athenians were denying the rebellious elites of Mytilene a source of landed property, opportunities for commercial enrichment, and access to highly valued resources (above all the timber of Mt Ida which was crucial for building a navy). Consequently, the Mytilenaian exiles made a concerted effort soon afterwards in 424 to recapture the *peraia*, first seizing Rhoiteion on the Hellespont and then Antandros on the southern slopes of Mt Ida with the aim of recapturing the Aktaian cities, building a fleet, and ravaging Lesbos.[49] Likewise, the Mytilenaian speaker of Antiphon's speech *On the Murder of Herodes* (probably mid-410s) implies that many Mytilenaian exiles resettled on the mainland and took up citizenship in communities there.[50]

However, it is significant that the Athenians did not just dismantle the *peraia*, but also actively sought to treat as many settlements as possible in this region as poleis in their own right. John Ma has recently argued that the Athenian Empire pursued a strategy of political disaggregation as a way to punish or undermine the more powerful members of its alliance who, like Mytilene, had the capacity to resist Athenian hegemony successfully.[51] Perhaps the clearest example of this strategy is the practice of ἀπόταξις (separate assessment) whereby Athens chose to tax communities individually rather than permit a dominant local city to pay on their behalf and thus

[48] Thuc. 3.50.2. This state of affairs lasted until the passing of *IG* I[3] 66 which Fornara (2010) persuasively dates to 412 and the events of Thuc. 8.23.2–3.

[49] Thuc. 4.52.3.

[50] Ant. 5.52, 78. For discussion of the date see Fornara (2010) 138–40.

[51] Ma (2009). For a countervailing example of Athenian political aggregation see Russell (2017) 69–80, esp. 78–80, on the Thracian Chersonese and on Byzantion and the Bosporos. Classical and Hellenistic Keos provides a case study for the roles which external powers (in particular Athens) can play in successive cycles of political aggregation and disaggregation: Lewis (1962), Brun (1989), Reger and Risser (1991), and Reger (1998).

exercise political and economic hegemony over the local region.[52] Athens used this strategy to punish rebellious allies who possessed *peraiai* in the cases of Thasos in 463 and Byzantion in 440, and my analysis of the Aktaian panels of the 425/4 and 422/1 assessment decrees suggests that it was also used against Mytilene in 427.[53] Similarly, Thomas Nielsen and Vincent Gabrielsen have argued that the inclusion in the tribute lists of the otherwise all but unattested Rhodian communities of the Brikindarioi, Diakrioi, Oiai, and Pedieis may likewise indicate, 'An arrangement imposed by the Athenians . . . to weaken a powerful ally'.[54] Something comparable was apparently done to the Samothracians, who in either 425 or 422 employed Antiphon to write a speech protesting the separate assessment of the communities in their *peraia*.[55]

This strategy of political disaggregation was not always effective: for example, despite decades of Athenian meddling, the cities of Rhodes effected a successful synoikism in 408/7, while the Eteokarpathioi, a political entity which Ma has argued came about through Athenian imperial *fiat*, did not outlast the empire which had brought them into existence.[56] Nevertheless, in the former *peraiai* of Thasos, Samothrace, and Mytilene the lasting consequence of this strategy was

[52] *ATL* 3:194–7 and Meiggs (1972) 240–2 thought this measure was intended to increase revenue capture, but it is unclear how increasing the bureaucratic load and introducing a greater number of middlemen would achieve this. Constantakopoulou (2005) 16–20 and (2013) suggests it is an assertion of regional identity, but I do not see how it could be in the interests of (for example) Lindos to allow a dependent community on their territory such as the Oiaiitai to appoint their own *eklogeis* and assess themselves separately in the full knowledge that this might well lead to state formation and ultimately to Oiai ceding from the territory of Lindos.

[53] Thasos: Pouilloux (1954–8) 1:135–92, Brunet (1998), Picard (1998). Byzantion: Russell (2017) 79–80.

[54] *Βρικινδάριοι* (*IACP* no. 993), *Διάκριοι ἐν Ῥόδωι* (*IACP* no. 994), *Λινδίων Οἰιᾶται* (*IACP* no. 998), *Πεδιεῖς ἐν Λίνδωι* (*IACP* no. 999). Only Brikindera is otherwise attested: *Λεοντὶς Τεισάρχου Βρυγινδαρία* (*SEG* 39.808; from the territory of Ialysos, second century BC).

[55] Antiphon frs 49–56, esp. fr. 55 Thalheim (from the fragmentary speech «*Περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθρᾳκῶν φόρου*») = Harpokration s.v. *ἀπόταξις· τὸ χωρὶς τετάχθαι τοὺς πρότερον ἀλλήλοις συντεταγμένους εἰς τὸ ὑποτελεῖν τὸν ὡρισμένον φόρον*. The *peraia* towns of Drys, Zone, and Sale appear for the first time in a tribute assessment decree in 422 (*IG* I[3] 77.V.27–31). It is possible they were already separately attested in 425, as the Thracian panel is extremely lacunose (*IG* I[3] 71.III.152–80). Since we know almost nothing about Samothrace in the Peloponnesian War, it is unclear whether this is garden variety imperial harassment or a punishment for disloyalty (perhaps connected to the campaigns of Brasidas).

[56] Ma (2009).

the creation of new poleis which resisted attempts to be reintegrated into a *peraia*, outlived the end of the Peloponnesian War, and contributed to the unique dynamic of these regions in the fourth century. By treating these places as acknowledged interlocutors of the Athenian Empire and tying their continued enjoyment of political and economic autonomy and of citizen and property rights to the continued existence of these political entities, Athens fostered the creation of a fragmented political landscape made up of communities which would be disinclined to cede their new-found autonomy to hegemonic regional powers such as Mytilene, Thasos, and Samothrace.

4.2.3 Mytilene and the Aktaian Cities

If, when Athens wanted to weaken Mytilene, it took away the city's *peraia* and encouraged the creation of as many poleis as possible in this area, then we may reasonably hypothesize that when Mytilene had controlled the *peraia* it had pursued a diametrically opposed strategy of suppressing polis status. While there is very little direct evidence for the status of the *peraia* communities pre-427, this scenario nevertheless seems the most likely one given the evidence we have both for the polis status of the Aktaian cities before and after 427 and for how other cities ran their *peraiai* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Positive evidence for the Aktaian cities having polis status prior to 427 is extremely sparse. The strongest case can be made for Antandros, but even there we encounter a number of difficulties. In the seventh century, the Mytilenaian poet Alkaios wrote that Antandros was the foremost polis of the Leleges, and in the context of Xerxes' march through the Troad to the Hellespont in 480 Herodotus refers to it as a 'Pelasgian polis' along with the Persian-run city of Adramytteion.[57] The first reference to Antandros as an ethnically Greek (Aiolian) rather than Anatolian settlement comes in Thucydides (perhaps for the events of 424, certainly for those of 411).[58] The discovery of a necropolis (300 m^2, 277 graves), which was in

[57] Alkaios fr. 337 L-P, Hdt. 7.42.1 (480 BC).

[58] Thuc. 4.52.3 (424 BC): the Lesbian exiles at Antandros plan to make themselves masters of τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Αἰολικὰ πολίσματα ('the Aiolian towns on the mainland'—inclusion of Antandros may be implied); Thuc. 8.108.3 (411 BC): Ἀντάνδριοι (εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰολῆς) ('Antandrians, who are Aiolian').

continual use from the seventh century down to the mid-Hellenistic period and has associated finds suggesting a prosperous community with wide trading links, certainly makes it possible that Antandros could have been a polis in the *urban* sense pre-427 (which is what the passages of Alkaios and Herodotus also suggest), although this is a separate question from whether Mytilene permitted the settlement this status in a *political* sense.[59] Finally, on the assumption that Barclay Head was right to date the first silver coinage of Antandros *c.*440–400, Hansen has argued that the existence of this coinage proves polis status pre-427.[60] However, a number of factors now suggest that the series did not in fact begin until after 427 (see section 4.3.2 below).

Aside from Antandros, the only other two Aktaian cities which are referred to as poleis in a pre-427 context are Rhoiteion and Ophryneion (both on the Hellespont), which Herodotus terms poleis immediately after referring to Antandros as a Pelasgian polis.[61] According to the so-called *Lex Hafniensis de civitate* formulated by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, when we encounter the term polis in the urban sense in sources from the Archaic and Classical periods (as we do here), then this will also denote that it was a polis in the political sense.[62] However, as I have argued elsewhere, in another passage Herodotus also refers to Achilleion in the Troad as a polis in a historical context where we can be quite sure based on thorough excavation of the site that, at the time in question, Achilleion was no more than a small fort.[63] Herodotus' description of Antandros, Rhoiteion, and Ophryneion as poleis in 480 could therefore refer to a variety of different political statuses and urban footprints, as indeed is implied by the fact that Herodotus troubles to qualify Antandros as a Pelasgian polis, thus indicating that it was a town, but not necessarily of a sort that would be familiar to Greeks (hence, perhaps, the decision to portray themselves as ethnic Aiolians post-427 once

[59] S. Mitchell, *Archaeology Reports* 45 (1998–9) 142 and B. Yildirim and M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 111.2 (2007) 327–8. For Hamaxitos, Akalın (2008) 21–4 reports walls encompassing both Göz Tepesi and Beşik Tepesi and harbour facilities the length of Ak Limanı for the fifth century BC. However, the material has not been fully published, and in any case the same point made here about Antandros applies.

[60] *IACP* p. 89: 'From *c.*400 onwards Antandros issued coins inscribed *ANTAN* (Head, *HN*[2] 541)'.

[61] Hdt. 7.43.2.

[62] See Hansen (1996), Hansen (2000), and *IACP* pp. 34–6 and the criticisms of A. Chaniotis, *BMCR* 97.7.16 and in particular Fröhlich (2010).

[63] Ellis-Evans (2017) 35–7.

they had become a 'proper' polis). In sum, the evidence for the polis status of these three Aktaian cities pre-427 is at best ambiguous, and crucially does not relate to the period 478–428 when Mytilene's privileged status within the Athenian Empire will have allowed it to consolidate its control over its mainland possessions.

The difficulty of establishing the polis status of the Aktaian cities pre-427 needs to be contrasted with the relative ease of establishing this political status for communities in the rest of the Troad in this period. While we would expect it to be easy to establish the polis status of larger cities such as Abydos and Lampsakos on the Hellespont, Tenedos off the western coast of the Troad, and Assos on the southern flank of Mt Ida, it is striking that there is also strong evidence for the polis status of much smaller communities in the Troad in the mid-fifth century. For example, the small towns of Gargara and Lamponeia, which lived in the shadow of their larger neighbour Assos, both produced fractional silver coinage in the fifth century (with Gargara's featuring the city's ethnic) as well as being regular tribute payers to the Delian League, with Lamponeia also turning up in fifth century writers such as Hekataios of Miletos, Hellanikos of Mytilene, and Herodotus.[64] By definition, of course, the Aktaian cities could not appear in the tribute lists before 427, and so it is particularly interesting that although no written source except the tribute lists mentions Kebren and Skepsis in the fifth century, both cities were active mints in this period and produced silver coinages featuring their city ethnics.[65] Finally, it is worth noting that even settlements such as Neandreia and Sigeion, which do not appear to have produced coinage pre-427 and were not mentioned by literary sources in the context of events in the fifth century, can nevertheless be identified as poleis on the basis of excavation (e.g. the presence of key civic buildings) and, in the case of Sigeion, an Athenian decree praising the city's loyalty.[66]

[64] *IACP* nos. 775 (Gargara), 783 (Lamponeia). Neither of these early coinages is mentioned in *IACP*. Those of Gargara first appeared on the market in 1995 (*Gerhard Hirsch* 186 [10 May 1995] 318), while those of Lamponeia have been known for over a century but are anepigraphic and thus have not always been recognized as belonging to Lamponeia (example: *BNF* M 6730).

[65] *IACP* nos. 780 (Kebren), 792 (Skepsis). Examples with full ethnic: *BNF Fonds Général* 556 (*ΚΕΒΡΕΝ*), 841 (*ΣΚΑΨΙΟΝ*).

[66] *IACP* nos. 785 (Neandreia), 791 (Sigeion).

Comparison with the rest of the Troad therefore suggests that, if the Aktaian cities really had had the status of dependent poleis before 427 as Hansen argues, then we would expect to see some unambiguous evidence of this, above all the presence of coinage, which was widespread amongst even small towns in the Troad by the first half of the fifth century.[67] It is therefore all the more striking that after 427 this evidence problem evaporates. As we shall see in the final part of this chapter, the Aktaian cities of Antandros, Larisa, and Nesos Pordosilene all started minting coinage immediately after 427, and other former settlements of the *peraia* such as Hamaxitos, Kolonai, Ilion, and Ophryneion followed suit in the fourth century. Likewise, in both the literary and epigraphic sources a critical mass of evidence establishing polis status quickly accrues.[68] While it is still possible, therefore, that the lack of unambiguous evidence for the polis status of the Aktaian cities pre-427 may simply be an artefact of our incomplete evidence, there is a strong circumstantial case for arguing that, in fact, a real change in the political status of these communities occurred in 427 when the Athenians dissolved the *peraia* and chose to recognize these communities as poleis.

4.2.4 The Nature of the Mytilenaian *Peraia*

If we look at how other Greek cities ran their *peraiai* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, we can see both that it is likely that Mytilene would have suppressed polis status in the *peraia* and understand what would have motivated the Mytilenaians to do so. Scholars usually use '*peraia*' as a catch-all term to refer to the mainland territories of Aegean islands. The word itself is treated as a Greek term of art whose meaning ('land opposite') is therefore thought to provide an important insight into ancient perceptions of these territories.[69] There are a variety of problems with this approach which I will survey before

[67] See *IACP* pp. 88–9 for the Aktaian cities as dependent poleis. Note that the only pre-427 source Hansen cites for the polis status of these communities are the coins of Antandros which, as discussed, are in fact also post-427.

[68] See the relevant *IACP* entries for a summary of the evidence.

[69] Recent treatments include Reger (1997) 466–7, Debord (1999) 264–72, Funke (1999), Horden and Purcell (2000) 133, Debord (2001), Carusi (2003), Hornblower (2003), Constantakopoulou (2007) 228–53.

proposing an alternative definition based on institutional arrangements rather than semantics.

It should first be noted that while *peraiai* were often located opposite the city which controlled them, this was not always the case. For example, it has recently been asserted that, 'With the exception of Chios, which . . . acquired her *peraia* as a gift in the sixth century, and therefore did not follow the "normal" route of occupation and control, *all other peraiai were in fact the coastal strip directly opposite the island itself*.'[70] However, at least half of Mytilene's mainland possessions instead lay along the western and northern coasts of the Troad, and therefore out of sight of Lesbos as a whole, never mind Mytilene in the island's south-east corner.[71] Likewise, for much of the Hellenistic period (and particularly in the years 188–167) the subject *peraia* of Rhodes extended well beyond the coastal strip opposite the island. As these two examples indicate, cities which were given the opportunity to extend their *peraia* well beyond the coastal strip directly opposite them seized this chance whenever it arose. The fact that this did not happen more often therefore simply reflects the resistance which mainland communities put up against such incursions, a famous example being the centuries-long conflict between Samos and Priene over the territory around Anaia.[72] The real common denominator in these situations is not so much that these territories were opposite the city which controlled them, but rather that the sea made access to that territory particularly easy. As Christy Constantakopoulou notes, it is for this reason that mainland cities which controlled an island *peraia* can, to some extent, be treated as being functionally the same as island cities which controlled a mainland *peraia*.[73]

[70] Constantakopoulou (2007) 246 (my emphasis).

[71] The map of *peraiai* in Funke (1999) 59, Abb. 1 (reproduced in Constantakopoulou [2007] 232–3, Fig. 13) crucially fails to include the more northerly sites in Mytilene's *peraia*, e.g. Thymbra, Ilion, Rhoiteion, and Ophryneion. While the others require restoration, Rhoiteion is unequivocally attested (*IG* I^3 77.IV.16).

[72] Magnetto (2008) 75–142. Hornblower (2003) 44 n. 15 also points to Chios and Kos which were prevented from developing a *peraia* on the mainland near them by Erythrai and Halikarnassos respectively.

[73] See Constantakopoulou (2007) 228–31 on Miletos/Leros and 253 on Alexandreia Troas/Tenedos and now Thonemann (2011) 283–91 on Miletos/Patmos. This is also the Athenian perception of how a *peraia* can be used when they hear that the Mytilenaian exiles have set themselves up at Antandros (Thuc. 4.75.1): *οἱ τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ Δημόδοκος καὶ Ἀριστείδης . . . ὡς ᾐσθάνοντο τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ χωρίου καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς δεινὸν εἶναι μὴ ὥσπερ τὰ Ἄναια ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ γένηται, ἔνθα οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Σαμίων καταστάντες τούς τε Πελοποννησίους*

A second reason for not placing undue emphasis on the literal meaning of *peraia* is that the term did not in fact have particularly wide currency in the Greek world before the second century BC. For example, in the mid-fifth century the Mytilenaian historian Hellanikos refers to a place in the *peraia* as *ἐν ἠπείρῳ* ('on the mainland'), a turn of phrase we also find in Thucydides regarding the events of 427 and in Antiphon's speech *On the Murder of Herodes* dating to the mid-410s.[74] As we have seen, in the Athenian assessment decrees of 425/4 and 422/1 these communities are termed *Ἀκταῖαι πόλες*, and this terminology is adopted by Thucydides in the context of 424 (see above section 4.2.1). In the mid-fourth century Ps-Skylax described the territory between Adramytteion and Atarneus in coastal Aiolis as *ἡ χώρα Λεσβία* ('the Lesbian territory'), which is his preferred phrasing for describing other territories of this kind, and a few decades later Theophrastos of Eresos referred to this same stretch of territory as *ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τῶν Μυτιληναίων* ('the shore of the Mytilenaians').[75] Only once do we encounter *ἡ Λεσβίων περαία*, and then in Strabo, an Augustan author, and where, by virtue of referring to the *peraia* as 'Lesbian' rather than 'Mytilenaian', the geographer makes clear his indifference to local realities.[76] It therefore seems that neither Mytilenaians, other Lesbians, nor contemporaries ever thought to call Mytilene's mainland possessions its '*peraia*'. Even though the mainland territories of Thasos and Samothrace were more obviously opposite the islands which controlled them, these cities likewise did not use the

ὠφέλουν ἐς τὰ ναυτικὰ κυβερνήτας πέμποντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαμίους ἐς ταραχὴν καθίστασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξιόντας ἐδέχοντο ('The generals Demodokos and Aristeides in charge of the money-collecting ships . . . when they learned of the preparation of the place they feared that it would become as Anaia was to Samos, the place from which the Samian exiles, having established themselves there, helped the Peloponnesians by sending pilots to their navy, incited disorder in the city of the Samians, and received those who had been exiled').

[74] Hellanikos of Lesbos *BNJ* 4 F 34 = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τραγασαί* (garbled in Pollux, *Onom.* 6.63) with Meineke (1849) 721–2 and Leaf (1923) 247–8; Thuc. 3.50.3; Ant. 5.52, 5.78. For discussion of the Mytilenaian *peraia* as its *epeiros* during the Peloponnesian War see Papazarkadas (2014) 228–30.

[75] Ps-Skylax 98.2 (where e.g. he also refers to *ἡ Χίων χώρα καὶ πόλις Ἀταρνεύς*), Theophrastos F 400 Fortenbaugh = Ath. 2.62b. Strabo 13.1.49 refers to this territory as both *ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τῶν Μυτιληναίων* and *ἡ ἤπειρος τῶν Μυτιληναίων*, and at this point may in fact be drawing on Theophrastos.

[76] For the problems with the MSS of Strabo 13.1.47 at this point see Ellis-Evans (2017) 41 n. 55.

term *peraia* and instead referred to these territories as *ἡ ἤπειρος* ('the mainland').[77]

It was in fact the well-known example of the mid-Hellenistic Rhodian *peraia* (which is always referred to as such in literary sources) which popularized the term as a way of referring to all such territories, although it is worth noting that even in the Rhodian case we encounter both a *στραταγὸς ἐν τῶι πέραν* ('*strategos* in the territory opposite') and an *ἁγεμὼν εἰς ἄπειρον* ('*hegemon* on the mainland') in the inscriptions. This process was then completed by the geographical writers of the Imperial era, notably Strabo, whose universal scope was matched by a homogenization of the language of space.[78] For example, he describes the *peraia* of Ithaka and Kephallenia in the following way: 'In early times Leukas was a peninsula of Akarnania, but the poet calls it "shore of the mainland", calling the *peraia* of Ithaka and Kephallenia "mainland"; and this country is Akarnania. So, when he says "shore of the mainland", one should take him to mean the shore of Akarnania.'[79] Had Strabo's source been anyone other than the revered Homer, it is clear that he would have simply glossed what he read in his source as '*peraia*' and we would be none the wiser.

In sum, while '*peraia*' may be a useful handle for modern scholars who want to refer to this phenomenon (and one which I have been using in precisely this way in this chapter), we should not imagine that the phenomenon can be explained simply by recourse to the word's meaning. Indeed, the alternative, more authentically Greek ways of referring to these territories ('mainland', 'coast', 'shore', and so on) are even less revealing than 'place opposite'. The real problem with this approach is that it focuses on a criterion where very little is

[77] For Thasos see Thuc. 1.101.3 (463 BC), *IG* XII Suppl. 347 II.3 (*c.*405–389 BC?), and the *Θασίον* (i.e. *Θασίων*) *ἠπείρου* coinage (*c.*362–356 BC; Le Rider [1977] 339 n. 4, Picard [1994]). J. Vinogradov, *BE* (1990) no. 499 suggested restoring *Π*[*εραίοι*]*ς*, *Π*[*εράοι*]*ς*, or *Π*[*εραιῆ*]*σ'* rather than *Π*[*αρίοι*]*ς* (for which see *SEG* 39.908) in *IG* XII Suppl. 412.1 (*c.*500 BC): *Ἀκήρατος, ὅς Θασίοισιν καὶ Π*[- 5–6 -]*ς ἦρχσεν μôνος ἐν ἀνφοτέροις*. But see *contra* P. Gauthier, *BE* (1990) no. 263 and no. 499 *infra*. For Samothrace see McCredie (1968) 220, no. 65.843, lines 5–8 (*c.*288–281 BC) and Harpokration s.v. *Δρῦς*, where the grammarian has created a doublet through a confusion of *Ἤπειρος* and *ἤπειρος*; see likewise Meineke (1849) 721–2 on Stephanus making a similar error in the transmission of Hellanikos of Lesbos *BNJ* 4 F 34.

[78] Clarke (1999) 193–244.

[79] Strabo 10.2.8 (Loeb translation): *αὕτη* [i.e. *Λευκάς*] *δ' ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν χερρόνησος τῆς Ἀκαρνάνων γῆς, καλεῖ δ' ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτὴν «ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο»* [*Od.* 24.378], *τὴν περαίαν τῆς Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας ἤπειρον καλῶν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀκαρνανία· ὥστε, ὅταν φῇ «ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο», τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἀκτὴν δέχεσθαι δεῖ.*

at stake: it is, for example, rather hard to imagine the Mytilenaians getting worked up about whether to call their *peraia* 'the mainland' or 'the shore'. By contrast, it made a meaningful difference to the prosperity of Mytilene's citizens and the nature of their political community whether the inhabitants of the *peraia* were to be granted citizen rights, what kind of property regime would prevail in this territory, and what approach the city would take to profiting from these resources. We can therefore arrive at a more meaningful definition of *peraiai* by treating them as a set of spaces which were characterized by certain institutional arrangements and subject to certain economic strategies.

Peraiai could, if the controlling city so wished, be integrated into the institutional structures of the polis on relatively equitable terms. For example, at Miletos and Rhodes the *peraia* was part of the city's deme system, and at Rhodes and Thasos the city appointed magistrates with authority over the *peraia*, for example the offices of στραταγὸς ἐν τῶι πέραν and ἁγεμὼν εἰς ἄπειρον at Rhodes and the οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐπιτετραμμένοι ('the men entrusted with the mainland') at Thasos.[80] It should be noted, however, that while the deme system applied to the integrated *peraia* of Rhodes, it did not extend to the subject *peraia*, and that the so-called Lerian deme of Miletos included the other adjacent islands, but apparently not Thebes on Mt Mykale.[81] These more nuanced arrangements serve as a salutary warning, since they are revealed to us in both cases by precisely the kind of rich and voluminous epigraphic documentation which we happen to lack in the case of Mytilene. It is also worth emphasizing that the institutional arrangements of *peraiai* are markedly different from those which existed between an *apoikia* ('colony') and its metropolis. For example, whereas Milesian *apoikiai* often adopted institutions closely resembling those of Miletos, they did not remain subject to Milesian institutions in the way that the Lerian deme did. Indeed, the relationship between city and *peraia* described above instead most closely resembles that between Athens and its cleruchies. Cleruchies were integrated into the deme system of Attica, could be associated with particular magistracies (e.g. a στρατηγὸς ἐν

[80] Miletos: Pièrart (1985), Thonemann (2011) 285–6. Rhodes: Fraser and Bean (1954) 82–94, Rice (1999). Thasos: *IG* XII Suppl. 347 II.3.

[81] On the dependent status of Thebes within the territory of Miletos see Mack (2015).

Λήμνῳ and so on), and were subject to Athenian law.[82] While they often had their own local institutions (e.g. the *boule* of the Athenian cleruchy on Samos or the *δῆμος τῶν τετελεσμένων* [‘demos of the initiated’] at Hephaistia on Lemnos), these bodies were not sovereign, but rather stood in the same relationship to Athens as did other institutions at the level of the deme in Attica.[83]

No distinction was drawn between the *peraia* and the city’s own *chora* in terms of where citizens could own land. For example, at Samos an *apographe* (census) of the land owned by Samian citizens begun in 321 includes *τᾶς τε ἐν τᾶι νάσωι καὶ τᾶς [ἐ]ν [τᾶι] π[ε]ρ[αίαι γᾶς]* (‘both the land on the island and the land in the *peraia*’).[84] Likewise, in the Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene over parts of this same territory, it is Samian citizens with whom the Prienians are in dispute, not citizens of a dependent polis of Anaia, the Samian *peraia*’s main nucleated settlement.[85] The decree for Boulagoras from 243/2 similarly attests Samian citizens owning land in the *peraia*, while the near-contemporary Samian Grain Decree from the 250s records extensive sacred estates in this region which belonged to the sanctuary of Hera on Samos.[86] Sacred estates are likewise attested in the Samothracian *peraia* which, at least in the second half of the third century BC, were owned and farmed by Samothracian citizens who paid a tithe of the produce from their *kleros* to the Great Gods on Samothrace.[87] We can compare the sacred estates of Hera in the Samian *peraia* which likewise paid a tithe to the deity, and the story in Herodotus of the Chians refusing to use produce grown in the

[82] The legal status of the cleruchies remains a complex question: see most recently Moreno (2009) and Papazarkadas (2011) 108–10, 201–2, 226–7 n. 68. For the specific case of Lemnos see Marchiandi (2008) and *contra* Culasso Gustaldi (2011) and the papers in Culasso Gustaldi and Marchiandi (2012).

[83] *Boule* of the Samian cleruchy: *IG* XII (6) 262 (*c.*350 BC) with Hallof and Habicht (1995). Demos of the initiated: Accame (1941–3) 76 no. 2, 81 no. 7, 89 no. 11 with Parker (1994) 343–6.

[84] *I. Priene*^{2} 132.147–50.

[85] *I. Priene*^{2} 132.119–30.

[86] Boulagoras: *IG* XII (6) 11.5–20 with Schuler (1998) 178–80. Grain Law: *IG* XII (6) 172A.20–37. See Tracy (1990) for the high dating of the 250s (accepted by *IG* XII, 6) with the comments of P. Gauthier, *BE* (1992) no. 349.

[87] The estates were conferred by Alexander IV and Philip III *c.*323–317, lost at some point in the following decades, then restored by Lysimachos *c.*288–281: McCredie (1968) 220, no. 65.843. *I. Thrac. Aeg.* TE 63B.17–23 (*c.*240–221 or *c.*228–225) attests the use of the *peraia* described here. These sacred estates are again attested in the Imperial era: *I. Thrac. Aeg.* E 433.19–20, 434 (*ὅρος ἱερᾶς χώρας*), 448 (*ὅρος ἱερᾶς χώρας θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ*).

ritually polluted territory of Atarneus in their sacred rites which implies a comparable arrangement between Chios and its *peraia* in the early fifth century.[88] These arrangements are again similar to those in Athenian cleruchies, where Athenian citizens were likewise able to own land and which dedicated *aparchai* at Eleusis just as the Attic demes did.[89] By contrast, although *apoikiai* often maintained religious ties with their metropolis, a grant of *enktesis* was required before a citizen of the metropolis could own property in the territory of the *apoikia*.[90]

The arrangements of the Samothracian *peraia* are particularly interesting because they reveal how the elites of a city which controlled a *peraia*, when given the opportunity, preferred to see these territories used. As Selene Psoma has recently argued, the cities of the Samothracian *peraia* were destroyed by the Gallic invasions of 280–278/7, and so the arrangements which are attested for the second half of the third century are comparatively recent.[91] The cities of Zone, Drys, and Sale appear to have been detached from the Samothracian *peraia* in either 425 or 422 by Athens, and during the fourth century they had their own decision-making bodies, struck their own coinage, and engaged in diplomacy with other poleis.[92] By contrast, in the second half of the third century the Delphic *theorodokoi* found no communities to receive them in this region, and the sources instead attest only a series of fortifications which, combined with the use of Ptolemaic military might and Thracian mercenaries, protected the Samothracian *kleroi* in this region from Thracian raiding.[93] The difference between the two situations is starkly apparent from the well-excavated site of Zone.[94] In the fourth century Zone had city

[88] See Hdt. 1.160.5 with the excellent analysis of Hornblower (2003). I am less convinced by his idea of '*peraia* as pollution' (p. 54, developed further by Constantakopoulou [2007] 249–53): rather, the point of the episode in Herodotus is surely how unusual it is for a city *not* to reap the economic benefits of possessing a *peraia*, and it is this unusual Chian attitude to their *peraia* which Herodotus feels obliged to explain.

[89] *IG* II^2 1672 = *I. Eleusis* 177.

[90] Gauthier (1972) 348–9 also notes that *isopoliteia* did not automatically exist between a metropolis and its *apoikiai*.

[91] Psoma (2008) 130–4.

[92] Psoma (2008) 123–9. For uncertainty about the precise date see n. 55 above.

[93] The *theorodokoi* lists and polis status: Raynor (2016). Fortifications: Robert, *OMS* 6:618, Tsatsopoulou (2007) 651–2, Psoma (2008) 135–6. Ptolemies: Gauthier (1979).

[94] Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi (2001), *I. Thrac. Aeg.* 509–10.

walls which enclosed an area of *c.*12 ha, whereas following the Gallic invasions the site was reduced to a small walled settlement (50.5 × 46.5 m) in the SW corner of the city which Psoma has identified as the ὀχύρωμα ('fortress') mentioned in an honorific decree for the Ptolemaic official Hippomedon.[95] Rather than rebuild Zone, the Samothracians preferred to reduce it and the other settlements in the area to defensible forts which could serve as centres for storage and redistribution for the Samothracian cleruchs who now owned the surrounding land.[96] Territory which had previously been able to sustain three independent poleis was now used purely for the benefit of Samothrace.[97]

The case of the Samothracian *peraia* illustrates how *peraiai* could be subordinated to the economic logic of the cities which controlled them. Again, it is worth noting that this is also highly characteristic of Athenian cleruchies which were likewise subject to profit-driven strategies of intensification for the benefit of Athens, for example turning over much of Lemnian agriculture to cereal production in the fourth century in order to feed Athens.[98] The examples of the Samothracian *peraia* and cleruchic Lemnos also demonstrate particularly clearly how the cities which controlled *peraiai* often chose to suppress community development in these territories in order to maximize their productive potential. For example, we know that Anaia was capable of being an independent polis because this is how the Samian demos in exile used the settlement in the fifth and fourth century and this appears to have been its status again in Late Antiquity.[99] However, when the Samian demos was able to return to the island after 321 they once again turned the territory over to cereal production, as is indicated by the Samian Grain Decree.[100] Likewise, when it was Miletos that controlled Patmos and the adjacent islands, it used these to graze animals, cultivate tree-crops, and profit from the north-south

[95] Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi (2001) 21–4, Psoma (2008) 135–6.

[96] *Lenos* at Zone: Vavritsas (1973) [1975] 70–2 with Psoma (2008) 134–6.

[97] On the use of forts to control important agricultural resources compare Labarre (2004) on western Asia Minor and Moreno (2007) 126–40 on Euboia.

[98] Moreno (2007) 77–143, with the modifications and criticisms of Stroud (2010) 16–20.

[99] Evidence for Anaia is collected in *I. Ephesos* VII.1:128–37 and Shipley (1987) 267–8, nos. 4611, 4910. For the Classical period see Fantasia (1986) 114–23 and Carusi (2003) 155–68 and for its status in Late Antiquity see Pleket's comments on *SEG* 49.1479 lines 10–11.

[100] See n. 86.

axis of trade along the western coast of Asia Minor. Conversely, in the medieval period when it was instead the monastery on Patmos that controlled the land around Miletos, the area of the former polis was primarily seen as a place to grow cereals to sustain the monastery and to extract salt as a food preservative.[101]

These examples illustrate the existence of a different 'moral landscape' in the *peraia* by comparison with the rest of the *chora*. If the elites of Samothrace or Samos had chosen a particularly fertile area of their own island, depopulated its settlements, redistributed the land to other citizens, and then used all the revenues to enrich themselves, there would have been revolution. By contrast, doing all these things in the *peraia* carried no risk of political unrest or social upheaval at home. Those being divested of their land were often non-Greeks who, if they resisted, could be met with violence that was portrayed as not only legitimate, but even glorious.[102] This created what we might euphemistically term a 'favourable' labour regime, whereby the *peraia* was primarily distinguished from the rest of the *chora* by the scope it offered citizens (and in particular property-owning elites) for exploitation and profiteering.[103] Indeed, Alfonso Moreno has suggested in the case of Athens that the main attraction of overseas settlements for Athenian elites was the opportunity to return to pre-Solonian labour relations.[104]

A less stringent moral landscape of course also existed in *apoikiai*.[105] For example, it is revealing that at the same time as Athenian society was producing a figure like Solon to address the needs of down-trodden primary producers in Attica, Battos II in Kyrene was disenfranchising the local population in order to offer their land to footloose Greeks as an enticement to settle the Kyrenaika.[106] However, *apoikiai* are distinguished from both *peraiai* and cleruchies by the fact that whereas *apoikoi* put the profits they gained from this less stringent moral

[101] Thonemann (2011) 289–90.

[102] Samothrace: for the third-century conflicts see *I. Thrac. Aeg.* TE 63A.8–12, B.17–18, and 64.15–27 with Robert, *OMS* 6:616–18 and Gauthier (1979) 80–3. Thasos: for the eventful fifth- and fourth-century history see Picard (2006), and now the ideologically charged *SEG* 57.820 'Stèle des Braves' (provisions for war orphans, 360s or 350s BC) with Fournier and Hamon (2007) and Hamon (2010). Lemnos: note the rich narrative woven around Miltiades' expulsion of the 'Pelasgians' from Lemnos and Imbros in Hdt. 6.136–40.

[103] Compare Zelnick-Abramovitz (2004) arguing that Athenian cleruchies often used the evicted population as low-paid labourers.

[104] Moreno (2007) 141. [105] Purcell (2005). [106] Hdt. 4.159.2–4.

landscape towards building a prosperous, independent community in the territory of the *apoikia* itself, the profits of *peraiai* were primarily used to fund the elites of a community located *elsewhere*. Put simply, a Greek from Thera who took up Battos on his offer aspired to use this land to become a wealthy and important Kyrenaian, whereas an Athenian who became a cleruch on Lemnos or a Samian who owned land around Anaia did so primarily to become a wealthier and more important Athenian or Samian.[107] The development of an independent political community in a cleruchy or *peraia* was therefore an undesirable outcome since it introduced a more stringent moral landscape, it disrupted the property regime, and it created a competing set of priorities governing the use of the territory's resources.[108]

As this argument suggests, the *peraia* will have been of equal if not more importance to the elites of the city controlling it than their own *chora*. In the case of Mytilene, this appears to be confirmed by the fact that when the elites of the city engaged in the widespread practice of using the border zones of their territory for elite display, the border zones they chose were not on Lesbos but in the *peraia*. This is in sharp contrast to the behaviour of the other cities of Lesbos which lacked *peraiai*. In the Archaic period, all the other Lesbian cities constructed towers and cult places along the major routes of communication into and out of their territories on the island.[109] These were constructed in the decorative style of Lesbian polygonal masonry, were often very large, and were located in remote parts of the city's *chora*, often overlooking strategic routes. For example, Eresos constructed a large platform at Apothiki which covered an area of 41.0×45.4 m,[110] was 5 m high in places, and was located in a secluded cove 15 km from the city across barren and mountainous terrain at the entrance to the Gulf of Kalloni.[111] Even allowing for the relatively easier task of

[107] See already Moreno (2007) 141 on Athenian cleruchies: 'Most important, however, is the fact that for these men a desire for overseas resources was far from the wish to sever ties with their city. Political life and competition with their peers in a common arena (*at Athens*) was still the focus of their ambitions and their desire for wealth' (emphasis in the original).

[108] For these arguments applied to the case of Tenedos and Achaiion in the Troad see Ellis-Evans (2017) 40–7.

[109] The evidence is published and discussed in Spencer (1993), Schaus and Spencer (1994), Spencer (1994), Spencer (1995b), Spencer (2000).

[110] Spencer (2000) 72. Spencer (1995a) no. 130 instead gives 58×42.2 m.

[111] For a map of its situation and drawings of the edifice see Koldewey (1890) Tafel 15.

transporting the enormous polygonal blocks to this site by sea rather than land, the construction of this platform would still have been a major undertaking and thus gives us a sense of the resources and social capital which were invested in these structures by the communities of Lesbos. Small finds from these sites indicate that they were periodically visited, and an inscription from *c.*209–205 refers to the gymnasiarch of Eresos leading a procession of the *neoi* and whoever wished to come along out to the boundaries of the *chora* at his own expense as part of the Ptolemaia festival.[112] By contrast, we see nothing comparable to this in the territory of Mytilene, despite the fact that its *chora* has been well explored and our epigraphic record for the city is many times larger than that for all the other Lesbian cities put together. The explanation is surely that for the elites of Mytilene the border regions with real significance for them lay not on Lesbos but in their *peraia*.[113] This was where Pittakos engaged in single combat with the Athenian Phrynon, where Mytilene set up the fort of Achilleion whose walls were done in the decorative style of polygonal masonry popular on both Lesbos and in the Troad, and where the Mytilenaians maintained a running conflict with Athenian-controlled Sigeion for over half a century.[114]

When we define *peraiai* as a set of spaces ruled by similar institutional arrangements and subject to similar economic strategies, a coherent historical phenomenon emerges from the evidence. Large offshore islands such as Thasos, Samothrace, Tenedos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes all to a greater or lesser extent created unequal relationships between themselves and mainland territories in order to further enrich themselves. As we have seen, when these dominant communities were given a free hand in how to run their *peraia*, they chose to suppress community formation and insist that citizen and property rights were held through the dominant polis or not at all because to do otherwise ran the risk of fostering autonomous communities which might break away and thus deny the dominant polis its favourable access to the *peraia*. It would therefore be rather surprising

112 *IG* XII Suppl. 122.19–22: *ἐξαγάγ[ων] δὲ τοὶς νέοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὶς θέλοντας ἐπὶ τ̣[ὰ ὄρι]α τᾶς χώρας καὶ ἐπιδείξαις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δ[απα]ναμάτωμ*. For discussion of this passage see P. Gauthier, *Topoi* 7.1 (1997) 354.

113 Spencer (2000) interprets the same data in terms of Mytilene's trading connections (esp. with Egypt), but is seemingly unaware of the *peraia*'s existence.

114 Walls of Achilleion: Korfmann and Kossatz (1988) 394, Abb. 3. Conflict over Sigeion: Ellis-Evans (2017) 35–7.

if Mytilene had broken with this well-established pattern, and both the actions Athens took towards the Aktaian cities after 427 and the circumstantial evidence for a sudden shift in the status of these communities at around this time suggest that Mytilene had indeed been suppressing polis status in the *peraia* prior to this.

4.3 MYTILENE AND THE MAINLAND

4.3.1 Beyond Territorial Control

So far we have been looking at a type of regional integration (direct territorial control) which is prominent in our sources because it intersects with institutional concerns (i.e. tax collection and political status), but which, in the broader scheme of island-mainland interactions, is in fact somewhat exceptional. Significant as *peraiai* were to the cities which controlled them, we should expect the majority of connections between island and mainland to have been commercial, private, and of mutual benefit to both parties rather than territorial, state-driven, and exploitative. Of course, Mytilenaians were in a position to combine these two approaches, with their private commercial ventures in the parts of the mainland controlled by Mytilene no doubt benefiting from how the *peraia* was run. However, given the proximity of Lesbos to Asia Minor and the fact that it was often quicker and cheaper to reach places on the mainland than other cities on Lesbos due to the island's rugged and mountainous interior, we should expect the other Lesbian cities which never controlled territory on the mainland nevertheless to have had a very strong relationship with the coastal cities of Aiolis and the Troad.[115] Likewise, we would expect Mytilene to have had strong relationships with places beyond the limits of the *peraia* and to have maintained links with the Aktaian cities even after they became independent.

[115] Compare Kaldellis and Efthymiadis (2010) 44 on Byzantine Lesbos: 'There is no reason to believe . . . that the citizens of Methymna felt closer to those of Mytilene on the basis of their common insular location rather than, say, to those of Assos on the opposite coast, with whom it would have been far easier to have dealings (Lesbos is not an easy island to cross, nor a small one).'

Although the existence and importance of these kinds of island-mainland connections is hardly in doubt, they are surprisingly difficult to identify in the current state of our evidence. However, a notable exception to this is the fractional silver coinage which Mytilene began minting in late 427 or very soon afterwards. This coinage marked a complete break with Mytilene's minting activity pre-427 in terms of metal, weight standard, denominational structure, and style. It is therefore highly revealing that, in response to this sudden change, fourteen mints in the Troad and Aiolis chose to model their own coinage after that of Mytilene either completely or in part. When a city aligns its own coinage with that of another city in terms of weight standard, denominations, and style, the motivation is usually that it does a lot of business with that city and so either wants to lower the transaction costs of exchanging currency or for its own currency to circulate freely with that of the other city. Consequently, the fact that the response to Mytilene changing its coinage was for fourteen mainland cities to align their own coin production with that of Mytilene indicates, firstly, that Mytilene remained a regional powerhouse even after its downfall in 427 and, secondly, the reach of Mytilene's commercial network on the mainland, which extended well beyond the former *peraia*. Moreover, as we shall see, the advantage of coins as a body of evidence is that they not only reveal the existence of this network, but also shed light on the nature of individual connections.[116]

4.3.2 Coinages and Commercial Networks

Before 427, Mytilene had taken the rather unusual decision only to produce coinages minted from alloyed metals. From the 520s down to 427 it produced a sizeable billon coinage (a bronze-silver alloy with less than 50 per cent silver; Figure 4.3.a), while from the 520s/510s

[116] What follows in section 4.3.2 is based on two ongoing projects on silver coinages of the Troad in the late Archaic and Classical periods: one conducted with Peter van Alfen (American Numismatic Society) on material from the late sixth/early fifth century, the other with Jonathan Kagan (New York) on material from the fifth and first half of the fourth century A prospectus of the former project is set out in Ellis-Evans and van Alfen (2018). I presented the work with Kagan on Attic weight coinages as the 2016 Harry W. Fowler Lecture at the American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/pocketchange/ellis-evans/>.

down to the 330s/320s, with a likely interruption 427–405, it produced an electrum coinage (a gold-silver alloy; Figure 4.3.b) in collaboration with Phokaia in northern Ionia.[117] Both coinages appear to have been profit-making ventures. It is likely that the face value of the billon coinage was substantially higher than the actual value of its debased metal, and thus Mytilene would have profited handsomely from imposing its use both within its own territory on Lesbos and in the *peraia*.[118] Likewise, the electrum coinage has been plausibly explained as a commodity coinage which Mytilene and Phokaia produced so as to sell on to merchants operating in Thrace, the Propontis, and the Black Sea where there was a cultural preference for using gold and electrum over silver.[119] Given all the other measures which Athens took to weaken Mytilene after the revolt, it seems likely that they would also have put an end to the city profiting from these two important revenue streams.

The coinage which Mytilene began to mint in 427 or very soon after is different in all respects to what had preceded it (Figure 4.3.c). Previously, Mytilene had used a different weight standard for each of its coinages: the so-called 'Persian' standard since *c.*500 for its billon coinage (11.2 g double sigloi and fractions thereof) and the Phokaic standard for its electrum (2.7 g hektai).[120] By contrast, the new coinage was in a different metal (pure silver) and used a slightly underweight version of the Attic weight standard. Whereas the theoretical weight of an Attic drachm is 4.3 g, the median weight of Mytilene's drachms is just above 4.00 g (heaviest example: 4.08 g), and whereas the theoretical weight of an Attic hemidrachm is 2.15 g, the median weight of Mytilene's is 1.90–1.99 g (heaviest example: 2.07 g).

[117] Despite the size of the billon coinage (I know of well over a thousand examples), it has received almost no scholarly attention except for two problematic recent studies: Lazzarini (2006) and (2010). A preliminary discussion is offered in Chapter 5.3.2. Bodenstedt (1981) provided a comprehensive study of Mytilene and Phokaia's electrum, but such are the problems with this study that the whole subject needs to be revisited.

[118] For examples of Mytilene's billon which have been found in excavations in the Troad see *Boston MFA* 84.738 (Assos, 1884) and Mannsperger (2006) 269 with Abb. 6 (lower city of Ilion, 1879). The large amount of billon in the Özkan Arıkantürk collection (*SNG Turkey* 9,2.580–648, cf. 738–45) is potentially significant because all these coins were acquired from sellers in Burhaniye near the ancient site of Adramytteion and thus were probably found in the former *peraia*.

[119] Mackil and van Alfen (2006) 210–19.

[120] For the exceptional electrum stater which Mytilene minted on the Chian standard see Ellis-Evans (2016b).

Figure 4.3. (a) Billon double siglos on the Persic standard, Mytilene, *c.*500–480 BC. ANS 1944.100.44273. (b) Electrum hekte on the Phokaic standard, Mytilene, mid-fifth century BC. ANS 1946.89.36 = Bodenstedt My Em. 56.7. (c) Silver drachm on underweight Attic standard, Mytilene, *c.*427–405 BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 168.

(a and b) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (c) Source © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Presumably, the purpose of minting these coins slightly light to standard was partly to turn a small profit by tariffing these coins as if they were full weight, but primarily to keep these silver coins circulating locally and prevent them from disappearing into international commerce as would happen with full weight coins on the widely accepted Attic standard. In addition to metal and weight standard, these coins are also distinguished from Mytilene's previous output by their use of a different denominational structure (drachms instead of staters and sigloi), a choice of a set of coin denominations within this new structure which was the same as that preferred at Athens (drachms, hemidrachms, obols, hemiobols, and very occasionally tetartemoria), and a decision not to produce any higher value denominations (e.g. didrachms and tetradrachms) which suggests that this coinage was intended to facilitate lower value transactions.[121] Finally, the composition of the obverse and reverse types is not directly paralleled in the earlier billon and electrum coinages, but provided a model which was closely adhered to by the majority of other mints which produced these coins: on the obverse, the head of a local deity facing right in a plain field; on the reverse, a symbol of the city surrounded by an ethnic in bold lettering (often in Aiolic dialect, as in the Mytilenaian example in Figure 4.3.c above) all within an incuse square.[122]

If we look at the geographic distribution of the mints which produced this coinage, it becomes clear that they are all places which either belonged to the former *peraia* or bordered it. At least three of the Aktaian cities produced this coinage: Antandros, Larisa, and Nesos Pordosilene.[123] Since the participation of Larisa is only known from two coins, the first of which appeared in 2003, it is quite possible that the number of participating Aktaian mints will grow as our evidence increases.[124] The northern limit of this phenomenon is marked by Dardanos on the Hellespont which bordered the territory of Ophryneion, the most northerly of the Aktaian cities.[125]

[121] Mytilene: *Boston MFA* 08.358 (drachm), *ANS* 1967.197.4 (hemidrachm), 1944.100.83626 (obol), *London Ancient Coins* 51 (25 April 2016) 88 (tetartemorion). Hemiobols for Mytilene have not yet appeared but are likely to do so.

[122] For the Aiolic genitive plural *–ον* for *–ων* (Hodot [1990] 95) see also *ΑΣΣΟΟΝ* (example: *Naumann* 48 [20 November 2016] 143), *ΓΕΡΓΙΣΙΟΝ* (example: *CNG* 73 [13 September 2006] 300), *ΜΥΡΙΝΑΟΝ* (example: *ANS* 1986.159.2), *ΣΚΗΨΙΟΝ* (example: *Boston MFA* 04.977). Another example of Aiolic dialect is *ΠΙΤΑΝΑ* (example: *Gorny & Mosch* 191 [11 October 2010] 1489).

[123] Antandros: *Boston MFA* 04.967 (drachm), 04.968 (hemidrachm), 04.969 (obol), *SNG Turkey* 9,1.251 (hemiobol). Larisa: *CNG* 63 (21/5/2003) 448 (hemidrachm). Nesos Pordosilene: *BMC Lesbos* 219, no. 1 (drachm), *Berlin* 18205776 (hemidrachm), *Pecunem* 19 (6 July 2014) 262 (obol), *SNG Ashmolean* 1601 (hemiobol). On the coinage of Nesos Pordosilene see now Erol-Özdizbay (2018).

[124] In the current corpus of 600+ examples, coins which first appeared in sales after 1990 make up 55 per cent of drachms, 75 per cent of hemidrachms and obols, 85 per cent of hemiobols, and 100 per cent of tetartemoria.

[125] Dardanos: *ANS* 1975.218.27 (obol), 1944.100.43850 (hemiobol), *Pecunem* 34 (9 August 2015) 220 (tetartemorion).

The southern limit is to be found in the Kaikos valley, where Myrina (across the bay from where the Kaikos debouches), Pitane (by the river's mouth), and Pergamon (further up the valley) all participated.[126] These cities were not only a short distance from Mytilene but also close to the former *peraia*, since the 'coast of the Mytilenaians' (discussed in detail in Chapter 6) was located between the Aktaian city of Nesos Pordosilene to the north and the lower Kaikos valley to the south. In the southern Troad, Assos, Gargara, and Lamponeia were located between the territories of two Aktaian cities, Hamaxitos to the west and Antandros to the east,[127] while in the middle Scamander valley Gergis, Neandreia, Kebren, and Skepsis were all likewise in close proximity to various parts of the former *peraia*.[128]

At least within the Troad, the adoption of coinages modelled on Mytilene's post-427 coinage may have been helped along by the fact that the reduced version of the Attic weight standard used by Mytilene (4 g drachm) was similar to an epichroic 'Troad' standard (3.8 g drachm) which had already been in local use earlier in the fifth century.[129] It seems that, for a brief period in the late sixth century, mints in the Propontis, along the Hellespontine coast, throughout the Troad, and at Mytilene used this epichoric 'Troad' standard. While Kyzikos in the Propontis, Abydos and Lampsakos on the Hellespont, and Mytilene on Lesbos shifted to the so-called 'Persian' standard after *c.*500, a core of mints in the Troad continued to use the epichoric standard intermittently in the second and third quarters of the fifth century, including Dardanos on

[126] Myrina: *ANS* 1986.159.2 (tetrobol), *Peus* 409 (25 April 2013) 130 (diobol), *BNF Fonds Général* 340 (obol). Pitane: *Gorny & Mosch* 191 (11 October 2010) 1489 (obol), *Berlin*, 524/1909 = *Jacob Hirsch* 25 (29 November 1909) 1839 (hemiobol). Pergamon: *BNF Fonds Général* 1031 (obol), *Winterthur* 2.2611 (hemiobol).

[127] Assos: *Naumann* 48 (20 November 2016) 143 (drachm), *BNF Luynes* 2510 (hemidrachm), *Naumann* 48 (20 November 2016) 142 (obol); private collection (hemiobol). Gargara: *Gerhard Hirsch* 186 (10 May 1995) 317 (drachm), *SNG Turkey* 9,1.483 (hemidrachm), 484 (obol), *CNG EA* 385 (26 October 2016) 200 (hemiobol). Lamponeia: *BMC Troas* 72, no. 1 (drachm), no. 2 (hemidrachm), *SNG Turkey* 1,2.1135 (obol), *Pecunem* 18 (1 June 2014) 173 (hemiobol).

[128] Gergis: *CNG* 73 (13 September 2006) 300 (drachm), 102 (18 May 2016) 398 (hemidrachm), *CNG EA* 385 (26 October 2016) 201 (obol). Neandreia: *SNG Copenhagen Supplement* 322 (drachm), *Triton* 5 (15 January 2002) 1413, *BMC Troas* 73, no. 2 (obol), *Pecunem* 10 (1 December 2013) 188 (hemiobol). Kebren: *CNG* 100 (7 October 2015) 1421 (hemidrachm), *ANS* 1944.100.43825 (obol), *SNG Copenhagen* 256 (hemiobol). Skepsis: *Boston MFA* 04.977 (drachm), *Naumann* 55 (2 July 2017) 176 (hemidrachm), *SNG Turkey* 9,1.724 (obol).

[129] The following is based on Ellis-Evans and van Alfen (2018).

the Hellespont, Kebren and Skepsis in the middle Scamander valley, and Assos, Gargara, and Lamponeia in the southern Troad. However, while the existence of this precedent is important for understanding some of the quirks of how individual cities aligned themselves with Mytilene's coinage, it does not substantially alter the overall picture that the mainland cities were adapting themselves to Mytilene and not vice versa. For example, aligning production with Mytilene saw these mints dropping previously popular denominations (e.g. diobols and trihemiobols) in a number of cases adopting larger denominations (e.g. drachms and hemidrachms) which they had not previously produced, and doing so at the appreciably higher weight of Mytilene's version of the Attic standard rather than the old epichoric 'Troad' standard.

However, perhaps the clearest change is in the style and production values of these coins. The coinages minted by Gargara and Lamponeia earlier in the fifth century were extremely crude and provide no real precedent for what these cities produced after 427. Likewise, although Assos and Kebren were rather more experienced mints whose pre-427 coinage therefore provided more developed precedents, there is still an appreciable shift in both composition and choice of types after 427. In the case of Dardanos, while the quality of die engraving did not improve much, the mint did adopt the incuse square reverse used by the other participating mints and also introduced the cockerel/horse and rider types which dominate its subsequent coinage. Lastly, although Skepsis did not significantly change its types, it did finally shift away from its somewhat idiosyncratic practice of using broader, thinner flans which regularly resulted in unsightly breaks at the flan's edges. In short, to a greater or lesser extent all six of the mints in the Troad which had used the epichoric 'Troad' standard before 427 made changes to their coinage after 427 so as to bring their output into closer alignment with what Mytilene was producing.

The precise circumstances in which Mytilene adopted this coinage in the first place are highly opaque. Given the use of an Athenian weight standard and a suite of denominations preferred at Athens, there is of course a strong temptation to link this coinage to the Standards Decree, but this should probably be resisted.[130] For the

[130] This connection is also superficially appealing because the Standards Decree (along with many other documents dated on the basis of the three-barred sigma) has recently been down-dated from the 440s to 420s (Rhodes [2008] 503, Papazarkadas

present argument, however, the important question is not so much the circumstances in which Mytilene adopted this coinage as the circumstances in which cities plugged into its commercial network on the mainland did. Within an overall framework of the participating mints aligning themselves to the model of Mytilene's coinage, we see individual cities making alterations both large and small to this model which suggest that they were *choosing* to participate in this regional coinage on their own terms rather than being *compelled* to do so by a hegemonic power.

In general, it seems that the mints which had never produced coinage before stuck closely to the Mytilenaian model, whereas those which had minted before tended to adapt it to their needs and preferences. The conformity of the first-time and inexperienced mints may reflect the fact that Mytilene played a role in helping these mints produce their coins. The quality of the dies being used by the Aktaian cities and the other first-time mints (Neandreia, Gergis, Myrina, Pitane, and Pergamon) is remarkably high for small cities with no previous experience of die cutting, and in the case of the inexperienced mints (Gargara and Lamponeia) or comparatively less experienced mints (Assos) there is a striking jump in quality. Given that Mytilene had been producing artistically accomplished dies with constantly changing types for its electrum coinage throughout the fifth century, and that several of the types used by these first time and inexperienced mints are extremely close to dies from Mytilene's pre-427 electrum and billon series, it seems likely that Mytilene was giving these cities access to its expertise in die cutting, thus creating a high degree of stylistic conformity across these mints. However, it is interesting to note that, once in receipt of these dies, several of these mints tweaked the Mytilenaian model. For example, Assos continued to mint its drachms and hemidrachms on the lighter epichoric 'Troad' standard, and its smaller neighbour Lamponeia appears to

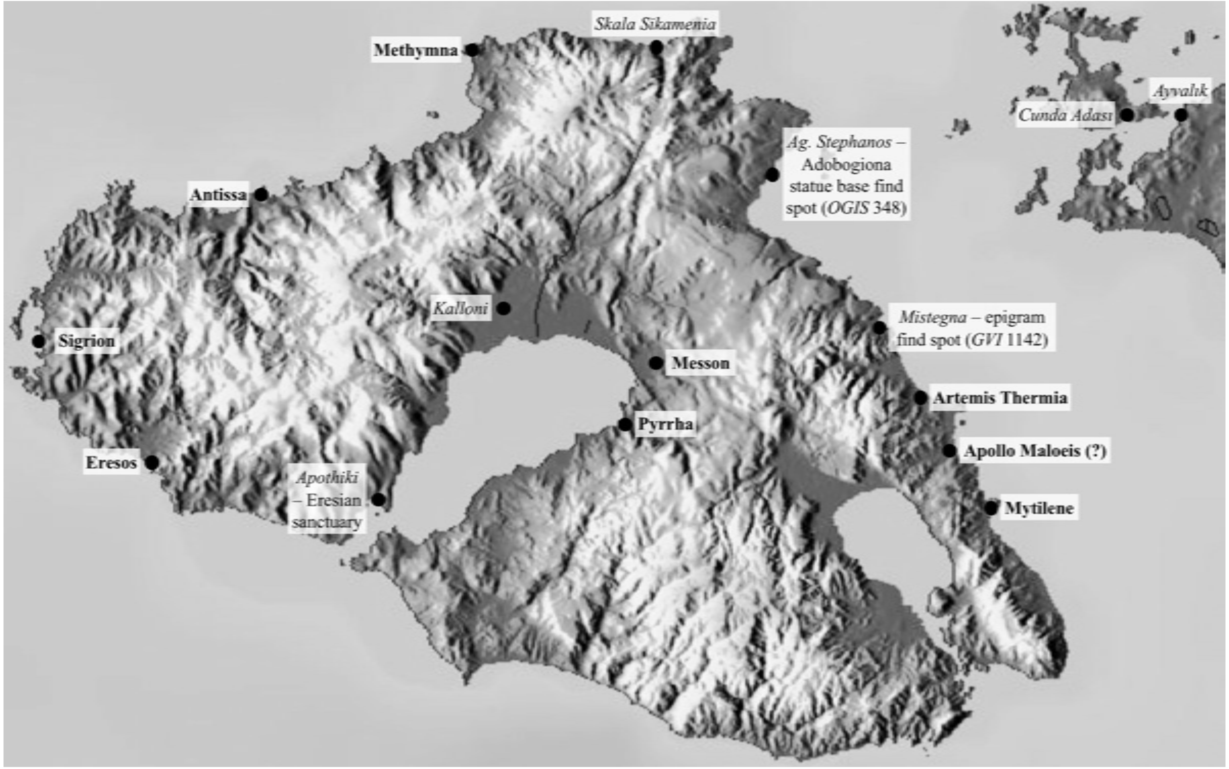
[2009] 72) and a copy of the decree has been found at the Aktaian city of Hamaxitos (*IG* I^3 1454ter), albeit one which is not (yet?) attested as a participating mint. However, whereas the fragments of the Standards Decree have been found in all parts of the Athenian Empire, the numismatic phenomenon described here is known for this region alone. It is unlikely that the decree was highly effective in this one corner of the empire but nowhere else. In any case, reconsideration of the numismatic evidence for other regions of the empire is making a date in the 420s for the Standards Decree increasingly difficult to sustain (e.g. Kagan [2014]), and so a 415/4 date may be correct after all (Kallet [2001] 209–25, Kroll [2009] 201–3).

have done likewise with its drachms. Again, while Myrina adopted Mytilene's preferred weight standard for its first silver coinage, it chose to break with the model by minting different (albeit compatible) tetrobol and diobol denominations. Finally, while Dardanos, Kebren, and Skepsis all made efforts to align their coin production with Mytilene's preferred weight standard and set of denominations, they decided not to conform to the style of Mytilene's coinage which was adopted by the other twelve mainland mints.

In sum, these Attic-weight coinages illustrate a model of regional integration which was built on co-operation, mutual economic benefit, and the sharing of technical expertise. It seems from hoard finds and coin find spots that these coins circulated together throughout the territories of the cities participating in this coinage. One of the attractions of minting this coinage may therefore have been that these coins could be used anywhere within this currency zone without the expense of currency exchange across city borders. This approach will have been a sharp contrast to the situation pre-427 where the evidence of coin find spots suggests that Mytilene's billon was the coinage of the *peraia*. We should therefore imagine a situation pre-427 in which Mytilene was effectively imposing a tax on non-Mytilenaian merchants who wanted to buy or sell goods in the *peraia*, since to do so they had to exchange good silver coinage for overvalued Mytilenaian billon. Likewise, we can expect Mytilene to have insisted on the use of billon coinage for the payment of taxes such as harbour dues, thus providing Mytilene with a way to monetize its control of a significant proportion of the Troad littoral. This exploitative strategy presupposes Mytilene's status as a regional hegemon with uninhibited control over the *peraia* and access to a large navy to back up its threats with force. In turn, it is indicative of the city's changed circumstances after being humbled by Athens that the Attic-weight coinage instead appears to represent a more consensual strategy. Mytilene now sought to maintain its commercial network on the mainland by introducing a coinage which its trading partners would want to adopt because it lowered costs for all involved and which with its coin types celebrated the full diversity of local civic identities in this region.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, the island of Lesbos was integrated into the world of mainland Anatolia, but this integration could take different forms in different cities, and even different forms within the same city. Mytilene's long-running control of various parts of the coastal Troad (until 427) and Aiolis (until deep into the Imperial period) meant that it enjoyed a very different relationship with the mainland compared to the other cities of Lesbos. However, as the case study of the city's Attic weight coinage illustrates, Mytilene's engagement in regional integration with the mainland could take both exploitative and mutually beneficial forms, with the period leading up to Mytilene's attempt at forcibly synoikizing Lesbos in 428 arguably representing the high-water mark of the more exploitative approach. The attempted synoikism itself is perhaps the clearest example of how the relationship with the mainland could have an impact on the island's internal dynamic, with in this case the far greater resources of Mytilene emboldening it to consolidate its power on Lesbos. Finally, it is worth noting that while the nature of the island-mainland relationship could change dramatically as a result of external factors (as happened, for example, in 427), this resulted in a transformation from one type of connectivity to another (i.e. from an emphasis on direct territorial control of the *peraia* to one on purely commercial contacts) rather than an end to connectivity, something which has only ever been approached in the very unusual historical circumstances of 1922.



Map 5.1. Lesbos.

5

The Hellenistic Koinon of the Lesbians

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As we saw in Chapter 4, the degree of regional integration between island and mainland has often been either ignored or underestimated, when in fact this was an important phenomenon which could have a significant impact on an island's internal dynamic. By contrast, regional integration *within* an island has often been taken for granted and even overestimated. The assumption has been that insular geography fosters a sense of shared island identity which in turn promotes cooperation between island communities and thus often results in political unification.[1] However, as I discussed in the introduction to Chapter 4, a greater appreciation of the relative ease and ubiquity of maritime travel in antiquity has made it clear that islands were not less connected to the outside world than places on the mainland, but rather hyper-connected by virtue of enjoying the possibility of maritime travel in all directions. In the case of Lesbos, the island's size meant that it was usually quicker to sail to a city on the mainland than to sail round the island to another Lesbian city, and it was always quicker to sail round the island to another city than to attempt to reach that same city by land.[2] The presumption that the cities of

[1] Reger (1997) 478–9, Constantakopoulou (2005).

[2] Dimopoulou (2015) 307. The point is amusingly illustrated by an episode in *Η Παναγιά η Γοργόνα* by the Lesbian novelist Stratis Myrivilis (1949, trans. A. Rick, *The Mermaid Madonna* [London 1959] 48). Varouhos from the village of Skala Sikamineas on the north of Lesbos has sailed down to Mytilene to meet with the bishop to discuss housing for the Anatolian refugees. The meeting goes poorly and so he heads to Zarifakis' bar to get drunk. On attempting to leave, Zarifakis notices that he is somewhat unsteady on his feet and suggests he stay the night: 'From the door Varouhos replied quite logically, "Do you think, my boy, I'm going to walk to Panayia

Lesbos would want to cooperate with one another or even become politically unified just because of their shared insular location is therefore open to question.

To understand how the cities of Lesbos interacted with one another we need to distinguish between different kinds of regional integration and different kinds of regional identity. As we have seen with the forests of Mt Ida (Chapter 2) and Mytilene's commercial network on the mainland after 427 (Chapter 4.3.2), the tempo of economic interactions within a region can increase to the point that regional patterns emerge without this resulting in any kind of movement towards power-sharing or political unification. In turn, the koinon of Athena Ilias (Chapter 1) illustrates how, even when we encounter a collectively run regional organization which fostered a sense of regional identity, there was no guarantee that this would develop further into being a political state. On the contrary, the members of the koinon seem to have gone to some trouble to prevent the organization from developing into a more state-like koinon along the lines of what we frequently encounter in central Greece and the Peloponnese in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. What the koinon of Athena Ilias achieved was rather to encourage its members to view one another as the group of peers they wished to rival and best, and the annual Panathenaia as the premier venue for this intra-regional competition. Only in exceptional times of crisis did this organization temporarily transform itself into an agent of collective action for the common good, for example during the wars of Alexander's successors or in the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War.

In this chapter I would like to suggest that this is also the right way to think about collective Lesbian identity in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. As the examples discussed above indicate, regional integration and the formation of a collective regional identity can occur without entailing or even presaging political unification. We therefore need to challenge not just the geographically determinist assumption that islands will naturally resolve themselves into politically unified entities (sometimes they do, sometimes they don't), but also the assumption that, when a region's cities came together to form

[= Skala Sikamineas]?" A guffaw of laughter applauded this retort'—the point being that one wouldn't walk it under any circumstances, never mind when legless with drink. By contrast, with the wind behind him he is able to sail back in three hours (rowing takes twelve).

a koinon, they necessarily wanted this organization to one day evolve into a federal state. While this was often the path which koina took in mainland Greece, it was very rarely the case in western Asia Minor. By focusing on the evidence which appears to presage the expected behaviour of political unification, scholars have lost sight of the larger point that this unification never actually happened. Lesbos had six poleis until Methymna annexed Arisbe at some point in the Archaic period, five until Pyrrha lost its political independence late in the third century, four until the Romans handed Antissa to Methymna in 167, and three for the rest of antiquity.[3] Moreover, when Mytilene attempted to synoikize the island in 428, she had to do so by force rather than by common consent, and Methymna fiercely resisted the synoikism and called in Athens to put a stop to Mytilene's plans for dominating the island.[4] In this chapter, therefore, my guiding principle in re-reading the evidence for collective Lesbian identity has not been that the Lesbian cities wanted political unification, but rather that they wanted to find ways to co-operate *without* political unification.

The refoundation of the Lesbian koinon *c.*200 BC has generally been viewed as providing the clearest evidence for the cities of Lesbos wanting to become a politically unified state. However, a reassessment of the epigraphic evidence for the refounded koinon instead suggests that the cities only agreed to limited cooperation in quite unusual historical circumstances, with greater interaction on certain fronts (above all mutual defence), but no overall desire for political

[3] Annexation of Arisbe: Hdt. 1.151.2. Pyrrha's gradual decline in the third century: Amigues (2013) 72–85; see also 93–5 (esp. 93 n. 54) on the oft cited but completely baseless claim that an earthquake in 231 BC led to the city's inundation and subsequent abandonment. Annexation of Antissa: n. 6 below.

[4] Thuc. 3.2.3: *Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐτοῖς διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ* ('For the Tenedians, who were at variance with them [i.e. the Mytilenaians], and the Methymnaians, and from among the Mytilenaians themselves some factious individuals who were Athenian *proxenoi* informed the Athenians that the Mytilenaians were forcibly synoikizing Lesbos'). By contrast, Diod. 12.55.1 gives the impression that the Lesbians wanted to synoikize: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λέσβιοι μὲν ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἐνεκάλουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι βουλομένων συνοικίζειν πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Λέσβον πόλεις εἰς τὴν Μυτιληναίων πόλιν διεκώλυσαν* ('In Greece the Lesbians revolted from the Athenians; they complained that when they wanted to synoikize all the cities of Lesbos into the city of the Mytilenaians they prevented it'). However, Diodorus makes no mention of Methymna's resistance to Mytilene throughout the revolt which Thucydides chronicles (the key detail that Methymna was excluded from the cleruchy is later left unexplained: Diod. 12.55.10).

unification. The second part of the chapter will then broaden the scope and reconsider the politics of expressions of collective Lesbian identity from Sappho and Alkaios in the late seventh century down to the time of the koinon's refoundation in the first half of the second century BC.

5.2 THE REFOUNDATION OF THE LESBIAN KOINON

5.2.1 Between Sovereignty and Cooperation

All koina involved a compromise between maintaining the sovereignty of individual member states and signing away some of that sovereignty so as to reap the rewards of greater levels of cooperation. We can therefore learn a great deal about the character of a koinon and the motivations of its participants by observing where along this axis from sovereignty to cooperation the members of the koinon located themselves by common compromise.[5] As mentioned in the introduction, the assumption has been that the cities of Lesbos viewed their insular identity as more important than their individual civic identities, thus making them inclined to give up aspects of their sovereignty in order to achieve greater cooperation within the island. The dossier of texts we have for the refounded Lesbian koinon allows us to test this assumption by illustrating how the Lesbians chose to deal with a series of key issues such as citizenship, interstate diplomacy, the provision of foreign judges, the granting of executive power to the koinon via deliberative bodies and magistracies, and mutual defence and tax farming. In each of these cases, the cities of Lesbos were faced with a clear choice between preserving their sovereignty and benefiting from increased cooperation. As we shall see, while they were willing to cede sovereignty so as to cooperate on mutual defence, on each of the other issues they chose instead to prioritize their own sovereignty over greater cooperation.

The epigraphic dossier relating to the refoundation of the koinon consists of three texts: (1) a fragmentary copy of the koinon's

[5] These issues have been central to recent work on Greek federalism: see in particular Mackil (2013) and the essays in Beck and Funke (2015).

refoundation treaty which was set up at Delos (*IG* XII Suppl. 136)—an edition of this text is provided in the appendix to this chapter; (2) an intact copy of an agreement between Eresos and Methymna about the provision of foreign judges which was set up at Miletos (*IG* XII Suppl. 139); (3) a fragmentary copy of a treaty between Rhodes and the cities of Lesbos which is preserved along with the beginning of an Eresian decree ratifying this treaty found at Eresos (*IG* XII Suppl. 120). The inclusion of Antissa in the treaty refounding the koinon suggests that all three documents probably pre-date 167, since in that year Rome destroyed Antissa and removed its population to Methymna in punishment for supplying the Macedonian admiral Antenor during the Third Macedonian War.[6] Palaeography suggests that a date much before *c.*200 is unlikely, but further precision relies on making inferences from the historical context.

If we are looking for a moment of crisis at which the cities of Lesbos would be more inclined to cooperate with one another (particularly in the sphere of mutual defence), then the most likely context is the collapse of the Ptolemaic kingdom's maritime empire in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the third century.[7] Whereas Lesbos had been on the periphery of the Ptolemaic sphere of influence in the first half of the third century, from the 240s down to the end of Ptolemy IV's reign in 204 the island was a Ptolemaic possession and thus under the kingdom's protection.[8] Indeed, a new and as yet unpublished inscription attests the presence of a Ptolemaic garrison at Antissa, strengthening the possibility that other Ptolemaic military and naval forces may have been stationed on the island.[9] As Ptolemaic forces first failed to fend off the incursions into their sphere of influence by Philip V and Antiochos III in the late 210s and early 200s and then collapsed altogether following the death of Philopator and the accession of his 6-year-old son Ptolemy V Epiphanes in 204,

[6] Liv. 45.31.13–14, Plin. *HN* 5.139, Mason (1995).

[7] For a more detailed discussion of the possibilities (primarily 207–201 or 191/0) see Labarre (1994) 433–7.

[8] See Bagnall (1976) 159–64 for the chronology adopted here and Brun (1991) for a high chronology in the 260s. As P. Gauthier, *BE* (1992) no. 343 notes, Brun's high chronology is based on a misinterpretation of *IG* XII (2) 513 (plaque dedicating an altar to Arsinoe II Philadelphos from Methymna) and a questionable updating of *IG* XII Suppl. 115 (honorific decree for a Methymnaian priest of the royal cult) from *c.*209–205 to *c.*267–259.

[9] Buraselis (2015) 372 n. 49. The text will be published by Angelos Matthaiou.

the cities of Lesbos, like many communities in Asia Minor, will have realized that Ptolemaic protection could no longer be counted on.[10] Certainly, the decision of the Lesbian koinon to conclude a treaty with the Rhodians, who to some extent stepped into the role which the Ptolemies had vacated after 204, would fit very well with this context. Rhodian involvement with the island may even be directly attested by the appearance of the Rhodian rose as a countermark on bronzes of Antissa dated to the late third/early second century.[11] Likewise, Philippe Gauthier noted the rather revealing detail that in a treaty between Mytilene and the Aitolian koinon from 214/3 the Mytilenaians did not bother to seek access to the protected category of *πολιτευόμενοι ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ*, whereas in 208/7 they did, suggesting a growing perception of their vulnerability.[12] While it therefore seems most likely that the decision to refound the koinon belongs to the last decade of the third century or the first decade of the second century, we cannot be any more precise than this. However, if this is correct, then it is worth noting the parallelism with the koinon of Athena Ilias, whose members were likewise prompted in periods of crisis to cooperate to a much greater extent than they normally would have.

5.2.2 Federal Citizenship and *Isopoliteia*

Louis Robert observed that the koinon treaty contains a clause relating to a grant of *isopoliteia*, and accordingly that line 27 can be restored as follows: [—*ἀπογράφεσθα*]*ι πρὸς τοὶς στροτάγοις καὶ εἰς φυλὰν ἄν κ*[*ε βόλληται ἐπικλαρῶσθαι*—] (‘register them with the *strotagoi* [i.e. *strategoi*] and assign them to the tribe they want’).[13] This clause indicates that, as a result of the koinon treaty, a citizen of any Lesbian city could enrol as a citizen of one of the other Lesbian cities. In this particular case, the procedure for doing so was to register with the *strategoi* of the city whose citizenship one was taking up, after which one could choose which of the city’s tribes to join.[14]

[10] Hölbl (2001) 132–40. [11] Tselekas (2010) 128, 140.

[12] Gauthier (1972) 259–60, 265–6.

[13] *IG* XII Suppl. 136 B.27 with Robert, *OMS* 1:209 and 1:439–40.

[14] Dimopoulou (2015) 318. For the interpretation of *ἐπικληροῦν* here as simply meaning ‘assign’ rather than ‘assign by lot’ (which contradicts giving the prospective citizen a choice of tribe) see Robert, *OMS* 1:439–40 and now Ph. Gauthier, *BE* (1992) no. 160 *pace* Jones (1991) 95. Two other procedures are attested: (1) the tribe is

In his treatment of this line, Guy Labarre conflates *isopoliteia* with *sympoliteia* and therefore suggests that this *isopoliteia* clause creates a 'citoyenneté fédérale' of *Λέσβιοι*.[15] Thus, regarding line 33 of the treaty, which refers to [—*αὔ*]*ξησιν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τῶν Λεσβίων* ('the growth and concord of the Lesbians'), he comments: 'This term "*Λεσβίων*" confirms that a federal citizenship was recognized via *sympoliteia* and that the term had a real political resonance and was not just an ethnic designation.'[16] If this were correct, it would be clear evidence of the cities of Lesbos agreeing to cede their sovereignty in order to become a unified political entity.

However, this interpretation of *isopoliteia* reflects a significant misconception of the institution in question. Labarre would to some extent be justified in eliding the distinction between *isopoliteia* and *sympoliteia* if we were discussing one of the federal states of mainland Greece, since the interchangeable use of these terms and the conflation of these two institutions is well attested there.[17] However, outside that particular context, *isopoliteia* does not entail an automatic grant of citizenship to an individual, but rather the right to take up citizenship should that individual choose to do so: for this reason, it is properly referred to as a grant of 'virtual' or 'potential' citizenship.[18] So, until such a time as a *xenos* who had been granted *isopoliteia* made use of this privilege, nothing about his citizen status would change.[19] Unlike *sympoliteia*, therefore, which either created a new category of

selected by lot (common): *SEG* 27.639 lines 15–18 (Aspendos, early third century) and *SEG* 39.1462 lines 34–7 (Nagidos and Arsinoe, after 238) with Gauthier (1990) 67–70; (2) the demos selects the tribe (unusual): *I. Milet* I (3) 143 A.28–9 (Miletos and Seleukeia-Tralleis, *c.*218/17), 146 A.36–8 (Miletos and Mylasa, *c.*209/8); see now *SEG* 44.1218 lines 20–3, 28–31 (Xanthos and Myra, *c.*150–100). Gauthier (1977–8) 375 explained the significance of this choice as follows: 'La clause milésienne montre que la cité voyait là sans doute un moyen de grossir l'effectif de certaines tribus, moins peuplées que d'autres, et donc qu'en concluant une convention d'isopolitie avec des cités proches elle s'attendait à accueillir un nombre non négligeable de nouveaux citoyens.'

[15] Labarre (1994) 427–9. [16] Labarre (1994) 428.

[17] See Walbank (1957–79) 1:243 on the usage of Polybius, who uses *sympoliteia* in cases where epigraphy instead attests an *isopoliteia* agreement with the Aitolian koinon or where he himself has earlier referred instead to a *symmachia*.

[18] See (e.g.) J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1972) no. 371, p. 449, (1976) no. 95, p. 430. As P. Gauthier, *BE* (2001) no. 162 observed, there is still much confusion on this point: 'L'octroi de la *politeia* potentielle (ou de l'*isopoliteia*, terme équivalent) semble décidément constituer une énigme pour beaucoup de nos contemporains.'

[19] Note that any legal protections extended to *xenoi* who possess *isopoliteia* but have not yet made use of it must always be specified separately: Gauthier (1972) 347–73.

citizenship (e.g. *Λέσβιος*) or subsumed one category within another (e.g. *Ἀντισσαῖοι* becoming *Μαθυμναῖοι* after the destruction of Antissa in 167), *isopoliteia* only facilitated movement *between* categories of citizenship which *already* existed (e.g. *Μυτιληναῖος*, *Μαθυμναῖος*, *Ἐρέσιος*, *Ἀντισσαῖος*).[20]

Emil Szántó emphasized two further points.[21] Firstly, *isopoliteia* does not create individuals with double citizenship: taking up citizenship in a new city via *isopoliteia* always means renouncing one's citizenship in the old city.[22] Secondly, while *isopoliteia* can have an honorific function, it would be wrong to consider it just to be a grant of honorary citizenship. Indeed, it is telling that when *isopoliteia* is exchanged between communities which are in sufficiently close proximity to one another that their citizens might actually take up this opportunity (as would be the case with the cities of Lesbos), regulations are introduced to ensure that the privileges of citizenship in the new city are only conferred on the condition that the individual is registered with the city's magistrates, is resident in the city, and is taking an active part in civic life.[23] For these reasons, *isopoliteia* should not be seen as a step towards *sympoliteia*: while it is certainly true that the institution represents an opening up of access to the citizen body, it by no means marks a dissolution of the polity's boundaries or, for that matter, an eliding of the distinction between communities.[24] The stringent conditions imposed on those wishing to take up citizenship via *isopoliteia* served, if anything, to *further* demarcate the boundaries between the polities involved.

One way of independently confirming that membership of the Lesbian koinon did not involve *sympoliteia* is to look at ethnics, since when a koinon had a notion of federal citizenship this was

[20] *Isopoliteia* and the movement of labour: Robert, *OMS* 4:295, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1973) no. 62, (1976) no. 95 p. 430, Gauthier (1977–8) 377, Gauthier (2011) 346–9, Chaniotis (1995) 59–70, 72–5, Migeotte (2004) 623–35.

[21] Szántó (1892) 67–104.

[22] P. Gauthier, *BE* (1999) no. 432. For the distinct and readily identifiable phenomenon of multiple citizenship see Heller and Pont (2012) with J. Ma, *Topoi* 18.2 (2013) 565–70.

[23] Gauthier (2011) 333–4. Gawantka (1975), most recently followed by Mack (2015) 202–3, considers the institution to be purely honorific in character. See, however, the earlier criticisms of Gawantka in J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 95, Will (1998) 617–21 [publ. 1977], Gauthier (1977–8) 373–7, Gauthier (2011) 346–9 [publ. 1984], and Gauthier (1985) 152.

[24] J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 95.

typically reflected in the ethnic terminology used of its citizens. Denis Knoepfler has illustrated this point with reference to a list of mercenaries from Samos.[25] Alongside the federal ethnics *Βοιώτιος*, *Ἀκαρνάν*, *Αἰτωλός*, and *Ἀχαιός*, we also find *Κνώσιος* and *Ῥιθύμνιος* (both cities which were members of the Kretan koinon) and *Ἑστιαιεύς* (a city belonging to the Euboian koinon).[26] When we encounter individuals from Lesbos in texts securely dated to the period *c.*200–167, they likewise bear their city ethnic rather than a koinon ethnic. For example, a *Μεγιστοκλῆς Μυτιληναῖ[ο]ς* and an *Ἀγησίλαος Μυτιληναῖος* contributed to a public subscription at Athens in 183/2.[27] The accounts of the Delian Hieropoioi for 181 record a dedication made by an *Ἐπιάναξ Μυτιληναῖος*.[28] In addition, there is a reference in the accounts of 179 to an *Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσίου Μυτιληναῖος* who had been contracted to do work for the temple in that year.[29]

Finally, at the Asklepieia on Kos, the ethnic *[Μυτι]ληνα[ῖος]* is preserved in the victor list for 182/1, a *Μαχάων Ἀγενόμου Μυτιληνα[ῖος]* came second in the kitharode competition in 174/3, and then this individual came second again in 170/69, this time beaten by his compatriot *Ἐτεοκλῆς Ἐτεοκλέου[ς Λ]έσβι[ος ἀ]π[ὸ] Μυτιλήνης*.[30] This is our only example of a Lesbian being described as *Λέσβιος* in this period, and, in the context of how other regional ethnics are used in this list, cannot be taken to prove the existence of a federal citizenship. The victor lists (*IG* XII (4) 453–4) use the so-called 'expanded ethnic' formula of 'regional/koinon ethnic + *ἀπό* + city name' both for koina which did have federal citizenship and for those which did not.[31] For example, we encounter an *Αἰολεὺς ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας*, referring to Alexandreia Troas, which is likely to be no more than an

[25] Knoepfler (2008–9) 697. [26] *IG* XII (6) 217 (*c.*280).

[27] *IG* II^2 2332.59, 136.

[28] *ID* 439.39 (181 BC), cf. 442 B.41 (179 BC), 461 B.48 (169 BC). Also restored in *ID* 380.72 (198 BC?), 385 A.74 (196 BC?), 386 B.10 (194 BC), 421.68 (*c.*190 BC).

[29] *ID* 442 B.234.

[30] *IG* XII (4,1) 454 B.188, C.256–7, 321–3. For the dating of these lists see Habicht (2000).

[31] A koinon with federal citizenship: *Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Ἤλιδος*, *Μεσσήνης* (454B.182–3). Koina without federal citizenship: *Χρυσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Μυλασῶν*, *Στρατονικήας* (453B.63–4, 454B.123–4, 139, 170–1, 189, C.275–6, 290, 336–7); *Λύκιος ἀπὸ Πατάρων*, *Ἀντιφέλλου* (454C.267–8, 274–5, 283–4, 287–8); *⟨Σ⟩ιλιεύς ἀπὸ Πανφυλίας* (454C.331 with *SEG* 41.685 and *IG* XII (4,1) 454, p. 374 *ad loc.*). On the subject of expanded ethnics and their relationship to the citizenship arrangements of different koina see Fraser (2009) 119–41.

ethnic designation.[32] Indeed, just as we find both '*Λέσβιος ἀπό* + city name' and the city ethnic on its own (i.e. *Μυτιληναῖος*), so too we get both '*Αἰολεὺς ἀπό* + city name' and *Ἄσσιος* and *Μυριναῖος* on their own, and in the case of members of the Ionian koinon ethnicity is never even mentioned.[33] To take the use of a regional ethnic for Lesbos in this inscription as proof that a federal citizenship existed at this time is therefore to place undue interpretative weight on this term given that the compilers of these lists were very clearly not concerned with rigidly observing such distinctions.[34]

In sum, the existence of an *isopoliteia* clause in the treaty does not prove the existence of federal citizenship as Labarre supposed, but rather rules it out. This conclusion receives independent support from the fact that, while the relatively rich epigraphic evidence we have for this period provides a number of examples of Lesbian *city* ethnics being used *c.*200–167, we have only one example of a *regional* ethnic for Lesbos being used, and then in a context where it is essentially functioning as a gloss on the city ethnic which is also mentioned. The decision of the Lesbian cities to reject the option of federal citizenship when they refounded the koinon strongly suggests that they did not view this act as the first step towards greater political integration of the island.

5.2.3 Interstate Diplomacy

In the more institutionally centralized koina of mainland Greece diplomatic decisions were taken by the federal assembly and carried out by officials of the koinon. Arrangements of this kind are illustrated in the case of the Aitolian koinon, where major decisions were ratified by the assembly of the koinon, while the particulars of foreign policy were taken care of by the *strategos* and the board of *apokletoi*.[35] The institutions of the individual member states of the koinon were therefore never called upon for these matters. Conversely, koina could choose to keep such decisions out of the hands of centralized institutions. For example, the arrangements employed by the Ionian

[32] *IG* XII (4,1) 454B.187, 191, but cf. 453B.60.

[33] *IG* XII (4,1) 454C.326–8.

[34] *Pace IG* XII (4,1) 454, p. 373 *ad* 321–2: '*Λέσβιος ἀπὸ Μυτιλήνης· non fuit oppidi civis ut Μαχάων ille Μυτιληναῖος* (v. 258), *sed e Lesbiorum communi, quod conditum est init. saecentury II a. (foederis instrumentum habemus* IG XI 1064, IG XIIs, 136).'

[35] Larsen (1968) 200–2.

koinon differ in two significant ways from those used by the Aitolian koinon. Firstly, decisions taken by the *synedrion* of the koinon were subsequently ratified by the assemblies of the individual member states.[36] The importance of member states agreeing to decisions of the koinon is reflected in provisions stating that the decrees should be published both at the Panionion and in each city.[37] Secondly, the decrees voted by the *synedrion* relate only to the conferral of honours and the running of the koinon festivals, implying that its constitutional role was significantly circumscribed.[38] Similarly, Knoepfler notes that the cities of the Euboian koinon responded individually rather than as a koinon to the envoys of Magnesia on the Maeander who sought Panhellenic recognition for the festival of Artemis Leukophryene in 208/7.[39] By contrast, when the Achaian koinon responded it did so through a decree of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν and without reference to any individual members of this koinon.[40]

In the sphere of interstate diplomacy, the Lesbian koinon, much like the contemporary Ionian and Euboian koina, did not replace or subordinate the institutions of its member states with its own institutions. Instead, it limited itself to providing a forum in which the Lesbian cities could decide on a common course of action. This can be demonstrated in the case of the treaty between Rhodes and the cities of Lesbos.[41] In the Rhodian part of the document there are several references to the Λέσβιοι swearing to the treaty.[42] This might lead us to expect that the negotiations were conducted by koinon officials and that the treaty was ratified by the koinon rather than by each of the member states individually. On the contrary, however, references in the text to envoys from Mytilene, Methymna, and Eresos indicate that each member state sent its own envoys. The reference to Λέσβιοι

[36] *I. Milet* I (2) 10.26–7 = *I. Smyrna* 577.26–7 (*c.*289: τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ ἐκ Πανιωνίου κυρωθὲν ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον).

[37] *I. Erythrai und Klazomenai* 504.40–5 (*c.*268–262). Copies of the honorific decree for Hippostratos (*c.*289) have been found at Chios (*SEG* 56.999), Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* 577), and Miletos (*I. Milet* I (2) 10 + VI.1 pp. 157–8).

[38] Herrmann (2002).

[39] See Knoepfler (2001) 359–65 and Knoepfler (2008–9) 697 on *I. Magnesia* 48, a decree of the Eretrians accepting an invitation to the Leukophryneia, to which is appended at the end ὁμοίως δὲ [ἀπ]εδέξαντο Ἑστιαιεῖς. Mytilene, Methymna, and Antissa likewise respond individually to this request: *I. Magnesia* 52.

[40] *I. Magnesia* 39.

[41] *IG* XII Suppl. 120 (*c.*200–167 BC). For discussion of the date see Labarre (1994) 433–7.

[42] *IG* XII Suppl. 120.8, 18, 20.

in the Rhodian section of the text should therefore be understood as chancery shorthand for the four sets of Lesbian envoys and thus reflect an outsider's perspective.[43] Moreover, below the text of the Rhodian decree we have the beginning of an Eresian decree which shows that the Eresian envoys (and so, we may infer, those of the other cities) brought back their own copy of the treaty to be discussed and voted on by the *boule* and *ekklesia* of each of their cities, a procedure which we have seen paralleled in the Ionian koinon.[44]

The degree to which the koinon's refoundation did not fundamentally change how the Lesbian cities conducted their diplomacy becomes apparent when we compare this situation with how the Lesbian cities had interacted with the Second Athenian League in 377–367, a period when, to the best of our knowledge, the koinon had a purely religious function. We learn from the decree of Aristoteles (378/7) which lists the League allies that the Lesbian cities joined individually and did so at different times: Mytilene and Methymna were founding members, Pyrrha joined later, and Antissa and Eresos last of all.[45] By contrast, three of the cities of Keos joined at the same time and in the list are even headed by the collective ethnic *Κείων*.[46] Another revealing episode comes *c.*369–367 when Athens passed two decrees in response to a Mytilenaian embassy.[47] The Second Athenian Confederacy had originally been set up to resist Sparta encroachment which violated the terms of the King's Peace, and this aim was achieved with Sparta's comprehensive defeat

[43] *IG* XII Suppl. 120.2, 4, 10–11 (Mytilene, Methymna), 25 (Eresos). Antissa's absence is probably a result of the fragmentary state of the text rather than an indication that it post-dates the city's destruction in 167. See already Robert, *OMS* 2:735 n. 3: 'Ces ambassadeurs sont ceux qu'Érésos a envoyés à Rhodes pour la négociation du traité. Le *ψάφισμα* de la ligne suivante est sans doute le décret de Rhodes que les ambassadeurs ont rapporté et remis aux autorités de leur cité.' The decision of the Magnesians (n. 39 above) to append a reference to Hestiaia's response to that of Eretria is a comparable example of outsiders tacitly grouping by regions cities which had chosen to act independently of one another.

[44] See Robert, *OMS* 2:735 for a persuasive identification of the unnamed city as Eresos and Dimopoulou (2015) 333 for the issue of individual ratification.

[45] *RO* 22.80–1 (Mytilene, Methymna), 97 (Pyrrha), 116–17 (Antissa, Eresos). For the restoration of [*Πυρ*]*ραίων* see Scuccimarra (1987–8). Brun (1998) instead unconvincingly suggests that the *Ἀστραιούσιοι* in line 118 below Antissa and Eresos in fact represent Pyrrha. *RO* 23 (decree of Methymna joining the League) establishes that Methymna in fact joined slightly later than Mytilene, so there was a lack of coordination even between cities joining at about the same time (see *RO*, p. 108).

[46] *RO* 22.119–22.

[47] *RO* 31.

at Leuktra in 371. It is therefore thought that the purpose of Mytilene's embassy in 369, which prompts an extremely defensive reply from the Athenians, was to question why Athens had yet to dissolve the League and had now allied itself with Sparta, the fear being that they harboured ambitions of re-creating the fifth-century Athenian Empire.[48]

Three important points emerge from the subsequent Athenian decree of 367 honouring Mytilene. Firstly, the Athenians only send an embassy to Mytilene, not to the other cities of Lesbos as well or to a Lesbian koinon.[49] Secondly, while it is Mytilene alone with whom Athens is dealing, the Athenian decree nevertheless refers to the Mytilenaian embassy as *οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐχ Λέσβου ἥκοντες* ('the envoys who have come from Lesbos'), and later to the Athenian embassy as *τοὺς πρέσβεις [τοὺ]ς πεμφθέντας εἰς Λέσσβον* ('the envoys who have been sent to Lesbos'), very much as the Rhodians later referred to *Λέσβιοι* without this implying anything about the island's actual political organization.[50] Finally, Athens invites the League representatives (*synedroi*) of all five Lesbian cities to *xenia* at the *prytaneion*.[51] Given that the rest of this diplomatic interaction only involves Mytilene, this is somewhat unexpected. The explanation appears to be that when Athens sent its conciliatory embassy to Mytilene, the other cities of Lesbos *independently* passed honorific decrees for Athens to express their approval which then prompted the Athenian offer of *xenia* in response to all five cities. Just as in the period of the re-founded koinon, the cities of Lesbos in the mid-fourth century preferred to interact individually with external powers rather than allow a single city (Mytilene) or political body (the Lesbian koinon) to speak on their behalf.

5.2.4 Foreign Judges

The treaty's provisions regarding the summoning of foreign judges have been thought by some to amount to a 'federal tribunal'.[52] However, it

[48] Tonini (1989).

[49] Tod, *GHI* 2:97 thought the reference in the rider to *τοὺς πρέσβεις [τοὺ]ς πεμφθέντας εἰς Λέσσβον* (*RO* 31.31–2) was to embassies sent to the other cities of Mytilene, but see correctly *RO*, pp. 155–6.

[50] *RO* 31.8, 31–2. [51] *RO* 31.26–30.

[52] Provisions: *IG* XII Suppl. 136 B.40–52. Federal tribunal: Robert, *OMS* 2:820: 'Là [i.e. à Messon] s'exerçait l'activité judiciaire fédérale'. Labarre (1994) 430: 'tribunal fédéral à Messa'; 432: 'institutions fédérales'. For perspective, note Larsen (1968) 209–12 on the limited judicial remit of the Aitolian koinon's *synedrion*.

is perhaps more accurate, following Aude Cassayre, to refer instead to the koinon putting in place 'un cadre juridique'.[53] We learn from the honorific decrees passed by Methymna and Eresos for two Milesian judges that the trials were conducted according to the *συνθήκα* of the Lesbian koinon and the *ἐπισυνθήκα* between Methymna and Eresos.[54] This raises the question of whether the process of summoning foreign judges was primarily organized by the koinon (and therefore federal), or instead by the cities in question according to agreements which they had drawn up between themselves. The documents in question make it clear that the koinon's role in such a situation was simply to *enable* the process, rather than to supersede local institutions. Methymna and Eresos in fact describe themselves, not the koinon, as being the ones to summon the judges in the honorific decrees for the two Milesians.[55] Indeed, all the officials involved are from Eresos or Methymna; the cities separately grant the judges honours; what they grant the Milesians differs; the honours relate to the particular institutions of these cities; and all costs come out of each city's treasury. This situation is in sharp contrast to what we see in the contemporary Aitolian koinon, where in one text from 182 it is the koinon treasurer who provides the funds to entertain foreign dignitaries and the koinon's *synedrion* which hears cases of *asylia* being violated.[56]

Here we see the institutional structures of the Lesbian koinon working not to replace the institutions of its member cities, but rather to facilitate the smooth functioning of those civic institutions. As Robert argued, the purpose of summoning foreign judges was typically to clear a backlog of untried cases or to settle particularly acrimonious disputes.[57] Above all, what foreign judges contributed to a city's judicial process which was previously lacking was impartiality.[58] Impartiality is likewise what the *συνθήκα* contributes to the judicial processes conducted between the cities of Lesbos. The sanctuary at Messon belonged to none of the cities and thus provided a neutral

[53] Cassayre (2010) 84.

[54] *IG* XII Suppl. 139.4–5, 20–1, 67–8. For the interpretation of these terms see Robert, *OMS* 2:728 (*ἐπισυνθήκα*) and 730 (*συνθήκα*).

[55] *IG* XII Suppl. 139.20–2, 59–61 (*μετεπεμψάμεθα*), cf. 3–5 (*οἱ μεταπέμφθεντες*).

[56] Larsen (1968) 209.

[57] Robert, *OMS* 5:137–54.

[58] Robert, *OMS* 5:147: 'L'appel à l'étranger était l'appel à l'impartialité'. A nice illustration of this is the general tendency to avoid honouring foreign judges with a proxeny grant because an inherent aspect of proxeny was that it was a symbol of partiality: Mack (2015) 266–9.

location at which to hold foreign tribunals.[59] This was its traditional role on Lesbos, for example providing a safe haven for Alkaios when he was exiled from Mytilene.[60] Likewise, Sheila Ager notes that a reference to a list of 'registered cities' in lines 41–2 of the koinon treaty, 'May refer to a register of particular cities, from which, when the need arose, certain ones were to be picked by lots to send judges'.[61] The purpose of such a procedure was to take the choice of city from which a tribunal would be summoned out of the hands of the cities whose citizens were at variance with one another, thus providing a further guarantee of the procedure's impartiality.[62] Scrupulous care has therefore been taken to ensure that the koinon's institutions fulfil their purpose of facilitating the setting up of foreign tribunals for member states without at any point impinging on the sovereignty of the cities in question.

5.2.5 Deliberative Bodies and Magistrates of the Koinon

As we have seen in the case of the Ionian koinon and, indeed, in that of the koinon of Athena Ilias (Chapter 1), a koinon could have institutional structures which resembled those of a federal state without those structures necessarily being invested with centralized executive powers. Thus, while the koina of the Ionians, of Athena Ilias, and of the Aitolians all had a deliberative body called a *synedrion*, the

[59] Perhaps at *IG* XII Suppl. 136 A.5 we should restore: *ἐμ Μέσσω ἐπὶ τῶν ὀ[ρίων vel ὄ[ρων τᾶν πολίων ?]* ('at Messon at the b[oundaries of the cities ?]'). Compare *SEG* 15.104 line 24 (Athens, 127/6 BC): *[ἔ]θυσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρ[ίων] καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν Ἀττικήν* ('they sacrificed at the boundaries and to the gods who hold Attica'); cf. *I. Thrac. Aeg.* E 78.7, 79.5 (*horoi* from Abdera). When Alkaios goes into exile at Messon, he refers to himself *φεύγων ἐσχατίαισι* (fr. 130.8 L-P). As Robert, *OMS* 2:820–2 argues, these *ἐσχατιαί* are not 'au bout du monde', but rather 'aux confins du territoire' (i.e. of Mytilene), namely *τὸ Πυρραίων ὄρος τὸ πιτυῶδες* (*HP* 3.9.5) immediately above the site of Messon.

[60] Alkaios fr. 130 L-P.

[61] Ager (1996) 255. Lines 41–2: [- *τᾶν*] *ἀπογραφείσαν πο[λί]ων ἀποκλαρω[σ* -] ('choose by lot from the list of registered cities'); [- *τᾶν*] *λαχοίσαν πολίων τεσσάρων* [-] ('the four cities chosen by lot').

[62] Compare Ager (1996) 502 and Laffi (2010) 85–6 on a similar provision in an arbitration agreement between Ephesos and Sardis (Laffi [2010] 61–72, 90s BC). Despite the late date, the process is almost entirely free of proconsular intervention and therefore reflects Greek rather than Roman procedures: Morstein-Marx (1995) 149–50, Laffi (2010) 107–16.

synedrion of the Aitolian koinon was clearly a far more powerful body than its equivalents in the other two koina. Equally, a koinon which did not want to develop powerful centralized institutions could do without many of these in the first place. This is particularly apparent in the case of the Euboian koinon's negotiations with the Dionysiac Artists *c.*298/7–287, where the koinon's complete lack of federal magistrates means that an ad hoc commission has to be elected from each of the member states in order to conduct the negotiations.[63] In discussing *isopoliteia* above, I have already touched on the inappropriateness of comparing the Lesbian koinon to the contemporary koina of mainland Greece. The cases of the Ionian and Euboian koina serve to further underline how misleading these mainland Greek koina can be as models for reconstructing the institutional structures of koina in the rest of the Greek world. We should neither presume that the institutions which did exist in the Lesbian koinon were as powerful as their counterparts in Greece, nor that the Lesbian koinon need necessarily have possessed any institutions which appear to be 'missing'.

Labarre interprets the reference to laws being ratified *εἰς τὰν πρώταν ἐκλησίαν* in line 31 of the koinon treaty as evidence for 'une assemblée principale plus importante qu'une autre'.[64] In this view, the authority of the individual cities' *ekklesiai* is subordinated to that of the koinon's *ekklesia*. It is certainly the case in koina with centralized institutions that a 'primary assembly' often took precedence over the assemblies of its member states. However, in the case of the Lesbian koinon, it is more likely that Labarre has instead misinterpreted the phrase *ἀ πρώτα ἐκλησία*. He understands *πρώτα* to refer to a 'distinction entre l'assemblée principale et ordinaire'.[65] However, the passage of Ps-Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* which he cites in support of this interpretation refers not to the meaning of the phrase *ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία*, but rather to *ἡ κυρία ἐκκλησία*.[66] At Athens, and often elsewhere, *ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία* was a purely temporal specification and referred either to the next meeting of the assembly or to the

[63] Knoepfler (2008–9) 696 discussing *IG* XII (9) 207.6–7: *τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἔν τε τῆι ἰδίαι πό[λει]*.

[64] Labarre (1994) 428. Again (same place): 'La citoyenneté fédérale, qui se juxtaposait à la citoyenneté des cités, s'exprimait au sein d'une assemblée qui vraisemblement devait être une assemblée primaire'. Dimopoulou (2015) 318–19 has the same interpretation.

[65] Labarre (1994) 428 n. 46.

[66] Ps-Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.4–6.

first meeting of the assembly during a prytany.[67] This suggests that the qualifications *πρώτη* and *κυρία* are quite distinct from one another and should not be glossed as synonyms.[68] If there really were a primary assembly of the Lesbian koinon, this phrase does not prove its existence, and in fact the process discussed above of the cities ratifying the treaty with Rhodes individually strongly argues against it.

The phrase *ἀ πρώτα ἐκλησία* likely refers to the next regular meeting of the koinon assembly, presumably at the annual festival held at Messon. This is in contrast to irregular meetings of the assembly which could be called if a member state wanted to request military support, a procedure referred to in line 5 of the treaty: [? *αἰ δέ κέ τις τᾶν πολίων* ?] *συμμαχίας δεύη βολλεύεσθαι ἐξαποσ[τελλ —]* ('If one of the cities is in need of military support, discuss dispatching . . . ').[69] Robert argued that *συμμαχίας* here is not a general reference to the alliance between the cities of the koinon, but rather to the relief force ('troupe de secours') whose dispatch in aid of one of the cities will be the subject of the assembly's debate.[70] Two further points about these irregular assemblies are worth raising. *ἐκλησιαζόντεσσι μηδὲ χειροτόνην* ('those in the assembly are not to vote by hand . . . ') in line 7 could refer either to a secret ballot, or alternatively to limits on the size or remit of the relief force which the *ekklesia* could vote for solely on its own authority.[71] *συνβολλεύην δὲ ἐξέστω ἐν τᾶ ἐκλησ[ία —]* ('it is permissible to discuss in the assembly . . . ') in line 9 might therefore be a reference to what the *ekklesia* could discuss on its own authority. In any case, the purpose of these measures appears to have been to restrict the

[67] Apart from the numerous examples in *IG* II², for outside Athens see (e.g.) *IG* XII (7) 515.121–2: *οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ ἀποδιδότωσαν [τὸ] ἀργύριον ἐν τῇ [πρώ]τῃ [ἐ]κκλησίαι* (Amorgos, late second century BC). In any case, at least at Athens *ἡ κυρία ἐκκλησία* was never the first assembly of the prytany: Rhodes (1981) 522–3, Hansen (1991) 132–4.

[68] See further Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 503–6.

[69] *δεύη* (= *δέῃ*). Here it should be translated, 'be in need of military support', as indicated by Hodot (1990) 196 n. 266: 'Dans tous les exemples de l'indicatif actif [i.e. of *δεύω*], le sens est "il faut"; pour les formes de subj., actif ou moyen, et pour le participle, le sens est "avoir besoin", "manquer"'.

[70] Robert, *OMS* 2:731 n. 1. See Holleaux (1916) 33 and Holleaux, *Études* 2:183, 3:81 with numerous examples, e.g. *ID* 1518.1–2 (Delos, 154 BC): *ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐξαπε[σταλ]μένοις εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶ[ν Κρητ]αιέων συμμάχοις κτλ.* ('The koinon of the Kretans decided to send out a relief force to Alexandreia').

[71] Peter Thonemann suggests to me that α[at the end of the line might introduce a qualification, e.g. *ἄ[νευ κτλ.]*.

decision-making powers of the *ekklesia*, presumably so as to prevent its constitutional authority being misused by a member state wishing to further its own interests.

Labarre identifies two further executive bodies within the koinon: a board of *strategoi* led by a *στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* and a council (either a *boule* or a *synedrion*) which is directed by the *strategoi* and which prepares business to be put before what Labarre considers to be the primary assembly.[72] The existence of a *στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* is argued for on the basis of the prescript of a Mytilenaian decree honouring the demos of the Erythraians in which the *probouleuma* is brought before the demos by Polydeukes son of Megon *ὁ τετάγμενος στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* and Aischyles son of Themistios the *antigrapheus*.[73] Labarre, who translates this phrase as, 'Ce stratège "qui se tient au-dessus de tout" ou "placé à la tête de tout", c'est-à-dire des affaires concernant la cité', argues that, 'The existence [of this magistracy] in one of the island's cities leads one to think that this type of institution could be reproduced, under the influence of the island's most important city, at the federal level'.[74] However, this conjecture rests entirely on Labarre's misconception of the institution of *isopoliteia*: he infers the existence of federal *strategoi* (and hence the need for a *στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* to direct them) on the basis of line 27 of the treaty which refers to *strategoi* in the context of the *isopoliteia* grant. Yet, as discussed earlier, these *strategoi* must be officials of the individual cities of the koinon, not of the koinon itself.[75]

[72] Labarre (1994) 428.

[73] *IG* XII Suppl. 137.1–3: *ἔγνω δᾶμος· περὶ ὧν ἀ βόλλα προεβόλλευσε καὶ Πολυδεύκης Μέγωνος ὁ τετάγμενος στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ Αἰσχύλης ὁ Θεμιστίω ὁ ἀντιγράφευς ἐπὶ τὸν δᾶμον ἦλθον, περὶ τῶ δάμω τῶ{ι} Ἐρυθραίων κτλ.*

[74] Labarre (1994) 429, cf. Dimopoulou (2015) 320.

[75] I would in any case take issue with translating *ὁ τετάγμενος στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* as 'stratège "qui se tient au-dessus de tout" ou "placé à la tête de tout"' (Labarre). This interpretation goes back to Swoboda (1890) 160–1, who thought it was a circumlocution for *ὁ πρῶτος στρόταγος*, attested at Mytilene and Eresos in the second and third century AD: *IG* XII (2) 244–245, 544, Suppl. 693. Firstly, it is inappropriate to use these documents to talk about the Hellenistic period, since *πρῶτος* in the second and third century AD comes to have an important honorific meaning unrelated to administration: Heller (2006) 305–41. Secondly, an *ἐπί* + genitive (or, at Athens, + accusative) phrase qualifying a magistracy indicates his sphere of responsibility either spatially (e.g. *IG* II^2 1225.8, 1260.7–8: *ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιεως*) or constitutionally (e.g. *I. Didyma* 488.25–6: *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης αἱρούμενοι*), not his seniority vis-à-vis other officials: Chandezon (2000) 81–2 and n. 45 (cf. LSJ A.III.1). A *στράταγος ἐπὶ πάντων* is therefore a *strategos* with a brief to deal with all matters.

Labarre interprets line 30 as referring to the number of representatives each city had on the koinon's council: [— *ἐγ δὲ Μυτι]λήνας ἔννεα, ἐγ δὲ Μαθύμνας ἔξ, ἐγ δὲ Ἀντίσ[σας* X,? *ἐγ δὲ Ἐρέσω* X? —] ('[from Myti]lene nine, from Methymna six, from Antis[sa?, from Eresos?]').[76] While it is quite possible that the koinon had a *boule* or *synedrion*, it is not credible that this would have been discussed in the middle of a purpose clause dealing with the legal remit of the court at Messon. Whoever the individuals in line 30 are, they will have been responsible for carrying out the purpose clause which opens in line 29: *ἴνα δὲ καὶ νόμοι εἰσενέχ[θωσι* —] ('And in order that laws may be introduced . . . '). The nature of these laws can perhaps provide us with a clue as to the identity of the individuals in line 30. These *νόμοι* are certainly referred to again in line 31, where they are to be put before the next meeting of the assembly. The line ends *περί τε ἐφο*[—], which Labarre has suggested could be restored *ἐφο[ρίων* —] ('regarding both territorial disputes and . . . '). Line 32 begins [—]*ων εἰσαχθησομένων εἰς Μέσσον*. This use of *εἰσάγω* is a well-known legal phrase which here will mean, 'bring a case before the court which presides at Messon'. The letters –*ων* which precede the verb are presumably the genitive plural ending of the kind of case being brought. *δική* or *γραφή* are excluded because in the Lesbian dialect the feminine genitive plural ending is –*αν*.[77] I would therefore suggest *περί τε ἐφο[ρίων* — | — *τε ἐγκλημάτων καὶ συναλλαγμάτ]ων* ('criminal offences and breach of contract disputes'), a phrase which is used as a catch-all term for private suits in the Eresian decree honouring the Milesian judges (section 5.2.4 above).[78] Taking into account this interpretation of lines 29–33 and the exclusively judicial character of the provisions in lines 34–52, it seems that the *νόμοι* being drawn up were not to do with the constitution of the koinon in general, but specifically to do with the use of Messon as a court.

It is perhaps worth resurrecting the view of the original editors that the individuals referred to in line 30 were members of an elected commission.[79] An *isopoliteia* treaty between Xanthos and Myra illustrates the procedure which would probably have been followed: 'We [list

[76] Labarre (1994) 428–9. Dimopoulou (2015) 318–19 instead somewhat improbably argues that these are the number of laws each city contributed to the koinon's new legal code.

[77] Hodot (1990) 95–6.

[78] *IG* XII Suppl. 139.24–5.

[79] Dürrbach and Jardé (1905) 213.

of Xanthian commissioners], the men who have been elected by the *demos* to draw up an agreement and introduce it (into the assembly) so that there shall be *isopoliteia* between the Xanthians and Myrans, have drawn up the following agreement, having the authority to do so, with the men who were sent from among the Myrans, [list of Myran commissioners], who had the authority to do so'.[80] Again, in the decree for reconciliation which Mytilene passed during Alexander's reign, a commission of twenty men made up of exiles and non-exiles was elected to manage the reconciliation.[81] The procedure was for them to thrash out the various problems, then present their results to the demos for approval: 'Concerning all of these matters, whatever they agree with one another, the men who have been elected will bring before the people, and the people shall hear it, and if it appears beneficial, let them deliberate'.[82] On this interpretation, the individuals in line 30 of the Lesbian koinon treaty would be just such an elected commission whose purpose was to draw up proposals on the running of the court at Messon to then be voted on by the other members of the koinon.

In sum, the only deliberative body certainly attested for the Lesbian koinon is the *ekklesia*; the existence of a *boule* or *synedrion* is possible, but not attested in what remains of the treaty; and there appear to have been few if any permanent magistracies. This impression is in line with what we have learned in the previous three sections: that the koinon avoided instituting federal citizenship and that it did not replace the sovereign institutions of its member states in the spheres of interstate diplomacy and justice. The Lesbian koinon's preference for ad hoc elected commissions over permanent magistracies for

[80] *SEG* 44.1218 lines 3–14 (*c*.150–100 BC): *οἱ αἱρεθέντες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συνγράψαι καὶ εἰσενεγκεῖν καθότι ὑπάρξει ἰσοπολιτεί⟨α⟩ Ξανθίοις καὶ Μυρεῦσι, τάδε συνεγράψαμεν ἔχοντες τὴν κυριείαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων παρὰ Μυρέων ἀνδρῶν* [Myran commissioners] *ἐχόντων τὴν κυριείαν.*

[81] *RO* 85 B.21–2: [*διαιτάταις δὲ ἔλεσθ*]*αι τὸν δᾶμον ἄνδρας εἴκοσι, δέκα* [*μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατελθόντων, δέκ*]*ạ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐμ τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἐόντων* ('The people shall elect twenty arbitrators, ten from those who have returned and ten from those previously in the city').

[82] *RO* 85 B.32–4: *περὶ τούτων πάντων ὄσσα κε ὀμο*[*λογέωισι πρὸς ἀλλάλο*]*ις, οἰ ἀγρέθεντες ἄνδρες φέροντον ἐπὶ τ*[*ὸν δᾶμον, ὀ δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο*]*ύσαις, αἴ κε ἄγηται συμφέρην, βολλεύτω.* For another elected commission on Lesbos see *IG* XII (2) 526 Ad.5–9 = Ellis-Evans (2012) A1.5–9 (Eresos, *c*.306–301 BC): [*οἰ*] *ἄ̣νδ̣*[*ρ*]*ες οἰ χ*[*ειροτον*]*ή*[*θεν*]*τε*[*ς π*]*άντα* [*τὰ γράφεντα*] *κατὰ τῶν τυρ*[*άν*]*νων* . . . [*παρέχ*]*ονται καὶ ταὶς γράφαις* [*ε*]*ἰσ*[*κομίζοισ*]*ι εἰς τὰν ἐκλησίαν* ('The men who have been selected by a show of hands will procure all that has been written against the tyrants . . . and they will carry the documents into the assembly').

dealing with more elaborate negotiations is comparable to how the Euboian koinon dealt with such situations, and suggests a desire to avoid creating centralized institutions invested with substantial executive powers.

5.2.6 Mutual Defence and Tax Farming

The provisions for mutual defence are an exception to this general preference for devolved institutions. It appears that the cities paid dues to the koinon that were then used to defray the cost of military operations in defence of one another. We can infer that mutual defence was the primary purpose of these payments from the reference in line 13 of the treaty to [—] *τὰν κοίναν ἀσφάλειαν φέρων ἔκαστος ἀπ*[—] and in line 4 to [—]*χεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ μισθόφορα ἄ κε διατ*[—].[83] While *μισθοφορά* often refers to pay for mercenaries, it can also refer to pay for soldiers in general, and so here suggests the upkeep of each city's military forces in defence of the other cities. Other defensive alliances from this period specify the rate of pay and even the currency in which allied forces were to be remunerated for their service.[84] The purpose of such clauses was to avoid disputes during and after the period of conflict such as those which arose between the Achaian koinon and Antigonos Doson in 224 when Aratos' troops complained that they were being forced to feed and pay the wages of the Macedonian troops.[85] The financial burden of *μισθοφορά* is also indicated by a public subscription from Kos dating to the First Kretan War (205–200), one of whose principal aims was to raise money for soldiers' pay.[86]

The method which the koinon chose for collecting these dues was tax farming. Line 17 reads: [— *ἐκάσ*]*τα πόλε*[*ι τ*]*αῖς ὄνναις πρὸς τὸ τᾶς πόλιος νόμ*[*ισμα* ? —], which should probably be translated as, '[? sell ? to ea]ch city the contracts for farming taxes in the city's currency'.[87]

[83] As LSJ s.v. *μισθοφορά* notes, both *ἐπὶ τᾶ μισθοφόρα* (= *τῇ μισθοφορᾷ*) and *ἐπὶ τὰ μισθόφορα* (= *τὰ μισθοφόρα*) are possible interpretations of this line due to the dialect; see Hodot (1990) 129.

[84] See (e.g.) *StV* III 480.35–41 (Aitolian and Akarnanian koina, *c.*263/2?), 551.15–39 (Rhodes and Hierapytna, *c.*201/0?), 552.31–41 (Rhodes and Olos, *c.*201/0?).

[85] Plut. *Arat.* 45.1–2.

[86] *IG* XII (4,1) 75.315–16 (202/1 BC) with Migeotte (1992) 149–51.

[87] For this sense of *πρός* + accusative see LSJ C.III.4 and *I. Kalchedon* 16.13–16 (fourth century): *πωλεῖν δὲ καὶ ὠν*[*εῖσθαι*] *πάντα πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τῆ*[*ς πόλ*]*εως, πρὸς*

Presumably, the point of this provision was to establish that the koinon would accept payment in whatever coins the cities had available to them and not insist on only being paid in a particular city's coinage or in the koinon's own coinage, both of which methods would impose the extra cost of money changing fees which, depending on the arrangement, would have profited either a hegemonic city or the koinon itself.[88] Further evidence of the tax farming procedure is found in line 18, referring to 'the payment due from each' and in line 21, mentioning what happens 'after the sale of the tax farming contracts'.[89] Slightly earlier in lines 14–15 there is a reference to assessing the tax liability of Mytilene's *chora*: [—]*τᾶν ἐλαίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δένδρων καὶ κτη*[*μάτων* —] ('. . . of the olive-trees and the other fruit-bearing trees and properties . . . '), [—]*ναι τᾶς ἐξηκοίστας τᾶς Μυτιληνάων χώρας*[—] ('. . . the sixtieth from the *chora* of the Mytilenaians . . . ').[90] In particular, the distinction made in line 14 between olive trees and other fruit-bearing trees seems likely to arise from land with olive trees being subject to a different tax rate.

τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸ ἀργύριο[*ν τὸ*] *Ὀλβιοπολιτικόν* ('sell and buy in the coinage of the city, i.e. the bronze and silver coinage of Olbia').

88 Given the amounts involved, silver rather than bronze coinage must have been used. While Methymna and Mytilene were minting their own silver coinage during this period (posthumous Alexanders: Price 1691–1696, 1698–1739), Antissa and Eresos were only producing bronze coinage. The silver currency available to them would therefore have come from a variety of sources.

89 Line 18: [- *χ*]*αν*? *τὰν καθήκοισαν παρ' ἑαύτοις*. This sense of *καθήκω* (LSJ A.II.3.b) is common in contemporary Ptolemaic financial documents. Line 21: *μετὰ δὲ τὰν πρᾶσιν τᾶν ὄνν*[*αν* -]. Labarre (1994) 427 took *ὄννα* = koine *ὠνή* to refer to 'la vente . . . de biens agricoles', and hence found *τὰν πρᾶσιν τᾶν ὄνν*[*αν* -] redundant ('les deux termes font-ils seulement redondance?'). Dimopoulou (2015) 317 takes it in a similar sense: '*οι πόλεις όφειλαν να εισφέρουν στο ταμείο του Κοινού ένα ποσοστό επί των εσόδων τους από τις αγοραπωλησίες των αγροτικών προϊόντων των δημόσιων κτημάτων*'. The problem is resolved once we acknowledge that *ὄννα* here instead means 'contract for the farming of taxes' (LSJ A.II.1).

90 See Thuc. 4.69.2 for the distinction between *δένδρα* and *ὕλη*. Fruit-bearing trees (*δένδρα*) on Lesbos: a first- or second-century AD funerary epitaph refers to Lesbos as *εὔδενδρος* (*I. Ephesos* 2101.1–3 + Add.), a reputation which appears to be well deserved. For fig trees in Mytilene's *chora* see *IG* XII (2) 74.6–8 (late third century BC) and for olives *IG* XII (2) 76–80 (AD *c.*285–305). Apples were held in particularly high esteem—for example, the aetiology of Apollo Maloeis ('rich in apples') related to a prized golden apple (references in Hornblower [1991–2008] 1:385) and at Methymna honorands had portions of apples bestowed upon them (*IG* XII (2) 505.20–3, third or second century BC). Famously, Sappho uses the image of an inaccessible apple as a metaphor for an unobtainable girl (fr. 105a L-P), and apple trees are likewise the focus of her description of a sanctuary of Aphrodite (fr. 2.1–8 L-P).

Provision is made for how to proceed if a city does not pay its dues, but due to the fragmentary nature of the text it is unclear precisely what repercussions were envisioned.[91] We should probably assume the existence of one or more financial officials of the koinon to manage these funds, and perhaps also the use of the temple at Messon to store these revenues securely, although no indication of this is given in the text.[92]

5.2.7 Conclusions

It is clear from the terms of the koinon treaty that the Lesbian cities did not want the newly refounded koinon to constitute a first step towards political unification, either within a federated structure comparable to the contemporary Aitolian and Achaian koina or in a synoikism reminiscent of the agreement the cities of Rhodes had come to in 408/7. Instead of federal citizenship the cities opted for *isopoliteia* which facilitated the movement of individuals between the koinon's four polities without compromising the integrity of each city's political independence. In the diplomatic sphere the koinon provided a framework for discussing common action, but did not attempt to replace the legislative bodies of the individual cities by arrogating executive powers to itself. Likewise, in the legal sphere the koinon provided a neutral venue for cities to settle their disputes with one another, but did not try to settle those disputes for the cities itself. It is characteristic of how the Lesbians scrupulously ensured that the koinon would not impinge (or even be perceived to impinge) on the sovereignty of member states that when the koinon needed to levy taxes for military expenditure this was done through auctioning off tax contracts to private parties rather than by giving the job to officials of the koinon. Likewise, it is significant that the cities could pay in whatever coinage was available to them, rather than being required to use the coinage of a particular city or a federal coinage which could have been a source of revenue for a hegemonic city or the koinon itself.

Reading between the lines, the concern that appears to animate all these provisions is that the koinon could be hijacked by one of the cities to subordinate the others, and so the response was to keep as

[91] *IG* XII Suppl. 136 B.20–5.

[92] Dimopoulou (2015) 317.

much executive power as possible in the hands of the cities rather than of the koinon. Even the *ekklesia* was tightly controlled by procedural regulations which limited how its powers could be used. The proportions of the elected commission are also suggestive. While Mytilene appears to have had the most with nine representatives, the fact that Methymna had six suggests that Mytilene did not have an outright majority. We may infer that if the other cities decided that the Mytilenaians were acting against their interests, they were in a position to block them. The structural factors which put Mytilene in a position to dominate the island in 428/7 (its large territory on Lesbos and its *peraia* on the mainland) were, to a greater or lesser extent, also present in subsequent periods and may therefore have been a source of habitual concern for Methymna, Eresos, and Antissa. Finally, it is interesting to note that the one area where the Lesbian cities did agree to joint action and to a limited degree of executive power for the koinon was in relation to common defence. It was probably a perception that, with the end of Ptolemaic hegemony, they had entered a dangerous new phase of Hellenistic history that motivated the Lesbian cities to refound the koinon on this new footing. We may compare the Panionion during the Ionian Revolt (499–494) which, in these exceptional circumstances, took on a military role that was otherwise totally uncharacteristic of the organization.

5.3 COLLECTIVE LESBIAN IDENTITY (SEVENTH TO SECOND CENTURY BC)

5.3.1 Collective Identities and Intra-Island Rivalries

These conclusions about the nature of the refounded Lesbian koinon and the motivations of the participants pose a problem: if the cities of Lesbos wanted to remain independent of one another, then what do we do with their repeated expressions of collective Lesbian identity which are to be found elsewhere in our evidence? These expressions of regional identity have, understandably, been taken as evidence of a willingness to cooperate and a desire for political unification on the assumption that these things go hand in hand. However, while collective regional identity can provide a framework for cooperation, it can also provide a framework for intra-regional rivalries, with ownership of the regional identity itself becoming a contested prize amongst the members of the region. In the case of Lesbos, the desire to be the best of the Lesbians or the claim that a particular city represents the true and original spirit of the Lesbians is certainly a claim about regional identity, but one which also expresses a developed sense of individual polis identity. Thus, instead of assuming that all expressions of collective Lesbian identity necessarily show the cities of Lesbos putting insular identity before polis identity, we should instead be asking what the politics of these claims to Lesbian identity are in each instance.

It is worth emphasizing, however, that not all apparent references to collective Lesbian identity are equally enlightening. Non-Lesbians were quite loose in their usage of the term 'Lesbian', and so we should not read too much into their decision to refer to 'Lesbians' instead of using individual city ethnics. We have already seen examples of this loose usage with the victor lists from Kos and the Rhodian half of the treaty between Rhodes and the cities of Lesbos, but the phenomenon of referring interchangeably to the island or to individual cities is in fact commonplace, particularly in literary texts. As a result, we should probably also not read too much into Lesbians off-island choosing to describe themselves as Lesbians rather than as being from a particular Lesbian polis, as we find for example on grave stelai from Classical Athens.[93] A Mytilenaian in Athens might feel greater fellow-feeling with other Lesbians while living abroad than they would back on Lesbos.[94] Equally, they might decide to term themselves a Lesbian because that is what the local population understood them to be, and because the distinctions which they would observe rigorously back on Lesbos had no particular importance in the new context. In general, populations tend to elide the internal distinctions which exist within foreign populations irrespective of their importance within those groups, and either use a collective term (e.g. Lesbian) or assimilate less familiar parts of the group (e.g. Antissans) to better known parts (e.g. Mytilenaians), just as someone from Wales, Scotland, or Northern

[93] *IG* I^3 1352bis = *IG* II^2 9202 (*c.*400): *Ἐνπορίων | Λέσβιος*; *IG* II^2 9203 (*c.*346): *Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνήτορος | Λ<έ>σβιος. | Πρωτονόη ⋮ Νικοστράτη ⋮ Εὐκολίνη.*

[94] Compare Sappho fr. 106 L-P: *πέρροχος ὡς ὄτ' ἄοιδος ὀ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν* ('Superior, as the Lesbian singer to those of other lands'), where the context of comparison with singers elsewhere perhaps prompts the choice of the collective ethnic.

Ireland will often find themselves referred to as British or even English when abroad.[95]

In order to overcome these problems, in the concluding section of this chapter I will examine the evidence which comes from within Lesbos and relates to the interactions between the island's cities. As we shall see, the legends and images on coins, the koinon's annual festival at Messon, the competing foundation myths of the cities, and the island's particular take on the institution of proxeny all contribute to developing a much more nuanced picture of the relationship between collective and civic identities on Lesbos.

5.3.2 Collective Ethnics on Lesbian Coinage

It is commonly argued that the koinon of the Lesbians minted the voluminous billon coinage of the late sixth and fifth century because these coins occasionally feature the legends *ΛΕ* and *ΛΕΣ*. Since they also sometimes feature the legends *Μ*, *ΜΥ*, and *Α*, it is further argued that the coinage was the product of a monetary union and that these letters therefore refer to Methymna, Mytilene, and Antissa respectively.[96] Following this train of thought further, numismatists have suggested that different obverse types relate to different cities—for example, the facing calves' heads type belongs to Mytilene, whereas the facing boars' heads supposedly belong to Methymna.[97] If this were correct, it would be good evidence both for a high degree of cooperation within Lesbos and for collective Lesbian identity already being important in the late Archaic/early Classical period.

There are, however, a number of problems with this argument. Firstly, the legends *ΛΕΣ* and *ΛΕ* also appear on the electrum coinage of Mytilene which we can be sure was produced by Mytilene alone because of the terms of its agreement with Phokaia to produce these coins jointly.[98] These legends on the billon coinage therefore do not have to refer to a Lesbian koinon as the minting authority, and the

[95] For a more positive assessment of what this evidence can tell us about island identity see Reger (1997) 474–7 and Constantakopoulou (2005) 5, 9–11.

[96] See most recently Lazzarini (2006), Lazzarini (2010), and Vavilakis and Lyrou (2010).

[97] Doubts have been expressed in passing by Babelon, *Traité* 2,2.1194, Franke (1975) 163, and Jenkins (1990) 19.

[98] *OR* 195, esp. lines 18–21.

coins could just as easily have been produced by an individual Lesbian city. The most likely candidate is Mytilene, since the billon coinage also bears the legends MY and M which apparently refer to the city. Again, an A also appears on the electrum coinage of Mytilene where it obviously cannot be referring to Antissa.[99] The problems with assigning these legends on the billon coinage to cities other than Mytilene are further compounded by the fact that a number of them (e.g. *H*, *KIOI*, and *BPOI*) do not relate to any known settlement on Lesbos.[100] Finally, it is worth noting that all the specific proveniences which we have for billon coins on Lesbos point to Mytilene.[101]

Secondly, the argument that different minting authorities can be identified by the different coin types has no foundation. It is argued that the facing boars' heads type must belong to Methymna because the boar was the city's civic badge. However, this argument is unconvincing for several reasons. Firstly, a boar only appears on the didrachms of Methymna's first silver coinage minted in the first quarter of the fifth century and then never again throughout the rest of antiquity (Figure 5.1). There are therefore no grounds for thinking that people would particularly associate boars with Methymna.[102] Secondly, the

[99] Bodenstedt Em 45.1 ('443 BC'). See already Mackil and van Alfen (2006) 212 n. 35.

[100] Lazzarini (2006) 28–9 and Lazzarini (2010) 97–8 suggests ἡ(μιοβόλιον) which cannot be right since the dialect form of ἡμι- would be αἰμι-, as we find it in the treaty relating to Mytilene and Phokaia's monetary union (*OR* 195.9, 11: αἰμίσεων). ἡμι- first appears in a Lesbian dialect inscription in the third century BC (*IG* XII (2) 74B.10). The appearance of ἡμίσεος in *IG* XII (2) 10.8–9 (late fourth century BC) can be excluded since the entire text is in koine. For attempts to attribute the *KIOI* legend (incorrectly read as *KIΘI*) to an unknown Kithos see Imhoof-Blumer (1883) 277–8, *BMC Lesbos* 173, no. 1 with n. *, *IACP* pp. 1018, 1020, and Lazzarini (2010) 96 (in all cases expressing doubts).

[101] *IGCH* 1192 was found at Mytilene *c.*1850, bought by Charles Fox, and dispersed in trade at Sotheby's (31/7/1852). A key figure is Charles Newton, who was Vice-Consul at Mytilene from May 1852 to April 1853 and again July to October 1855, and spent a great deal of his time there collecting antiquities: Newton (1865) 1:49–120, 2:1–20. For an example of a billon coin Newton procured at Mytilene (and erroneously attributed to Eresos) see Newton (1865) 2:19 with n. 12. He also provided billon coins to the British Museum (*BMC Lesbos* lxiii, and note esp. 152–3 nos. 22 and 40) and to a Dr Perrotti whose coin collection later went to the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Newton [1865] 1:55–6). Given Newton's friendship with Fox, we may even suspect he had a hand in procuring *IGCH* 1192, although the chronology is tight (see Fox [1856–62] 1:7 and 2:10 no. 62). He is also likely to have been Maximilian Borrell's unnamed source for the statement that billon coins were commonly found on the acropolis of Mytilene: Borrell (1865) 341.

[102] Franke (1975) 163. For the boar as alleged civic badge see for example Brandis (1866) 450–1, Lenormant (1878–9) 1:197 n. 4, Head (1887) 281 n. 5, Imhoof-Blumer

Figure 5.1. Silver didrachm on Euboic standard, Methymna, *c.*500–460 BC. ANS 1944.100.44331.

Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

facing boars type only appears on the billon fractions: it is unclear why Methymna should have only produced small denomination coinage for the koinon, especially when its own silver coinage at this time skewed towards the higher end of the denominational range. Thirdly, types with facing boars' heads and with facing calves' heads have been found together on the acropolis of Mytilene, indicating that they circulated together and that an attribution to Mytilene for this type is equally possible.[103] In addition, types with facing boars' heads have now appeared with the legend MY, demonstrating that Mytilene could produce this 'Methymnaian' type.[104] Finally, as mentioned above, we know that Methymna was producing its own pure silver coinage at precisely the same time as the billon coinage was being produced. If Methymna had indeed belonged to a monetary union producing severely debased billon coinage, it would have made little financial sense for the city to start minting its own pure silver coinage which, as the intrinsically more valuable coinage, would have driven the city's own billon coinage out of circulation.[105]

In sum, it seems highly unlikely that the billon coinage represents a monetary union between the cities of Lesbos. On the contrary, the evidence points instead to the billon coinage having been minted by Mytilene alone and instead being key evidence for how Mytilene claimed ownership over Lesbian identity. While we by no means

(1890) 109, *BMC Lesbos* lxiv–lxv, Head *HN*^{2} 558, and most recently Lazzarini (2006) and Lazzarini (2010).

103 Borrell (1865) 341 and his nos. 2 and 5; cf. *BMC Lesbos* 152 no. 22 with note.

104 See e.g. *CNG* 66 (19/5/2004) 439 and *Pecunem* 41 (6/3/2016) 248.

105 Jenkins (1990) 19 and *contra* (unpersuasively) Lazzarini (2010) 100.

understand all the legends on these coins, it seems safe to assume that MY and M refer to Mytilene and that *ΛΕ* and *ΛΕΣ* refer to Lesbos. It would therefore seem that Mytilene was laying claim to and asserting ownership over this collective regional identity in the early fifth century, much as in 428 Mytilene would take it upon itself to speak for the Lesbians as a whole by attempting to synoikize the island by force.[106] In the context of 428 we can be quite sure this was not what all Lesbians wanted, since Thucydides informs us of Methymna's resistance. By contrast, in the early fifth century we are left to infer as much from the fact that Methymna produced a sizeable coinage which bore no relation to Mytilene's billon coinage in metal, weight standard, or denominations and which foregrounded the city's separate and distinct identity by rather unusually writing out the city's ethnic in full on both the obverse and the reverse (Figure 5.1 above).[107]

5.3.3 The Sanctuary at Messon

Already in the late seventh century the sanctuary at Messon was a focal point for Lesbian identity and an example of collective action by the cities of Lesbos: as Alkaios tells us, '. . . the Lesbians established (under a conspicuous hill/mountain?) this great common sanctuary, and put in it altars of the blessed immortals'.[108] The building of a new temple in the sanctuary *c.*340–320 will again have been a joint effort and thus a further example of how the sanctuary at Messon fostered collaboration between the island's cities.[109] Several centuries later in

[106] Thuc. 3.2.3. [107] Franke (1975) 166–7, nos. 1–3.

[108] Alkaios fr. 129.1–3 L-P: [] . *ρά . α τόδε Λέσβιοι* / [. . .] . . . . *εὔδειλον τέμενος μέγα* / *ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν ἐν δὲ βώμοις* / *ἀθανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκαν*. Line 2 has been supplemented as *λόφο]ν κατ'* (Gallavotti) or *ὄρος] κατ'* (Robert, *OMS* 2:817). Robert, *OMS* 2:736 n. 1 and 819–20 identified a reference to this festival in Hesych. s.v. *μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι· ἐν αἷς Λέσβιοι κοινὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν* ('*mesostrophoniai hemerai*: (days) on which the Lesbians sacrifice in common'). The *μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι* are interpreted in one of two ways: (1) 'the days when (the Lesbians) move to Messon'—Bechtel (1921–4) 1:122 ('. . . to the middle'), Robert, *OMS* 2:736 n. 1, 819–20 ('to Messon'); (2) 'the days that turn at the middle', i.e. the days around one of the equinoxes when the days are getting longer or shorter: Bierl (2016) 324 n. 60, Nagy (2016) 463–4, 470–1. As Nagy (2016) 464 n. 29 remarks, it may be that both senses are correct (i.e. *μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι* refers simultaneously to a time of year and a place at which the Lesbians make communal sacrifices).

[109] Labarre (1994) 418–26, (1996a) 46–8, and for the Ephorate's recent finds see Acheilara (2010). The building inscription *IG* XII (2) 10 + Suppl. p. 4 likely refers to the construction of this temple: Heisserer (1988) 111–19.

the second half of the second century AD, the temple was depicted on large (*c.*35 mm) bronze coins minted by the Lesbian koinon under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (163/4?) and again under Commodus (*c.*180–182).[110] The sanctuary at Messon therefore had a long history of representing the collective identity of the Lesbians.

However, as we also learn from Alkaios, already in the late seventh century the sanctuary was not just a space for common worship, but also for competition between the cities of Lesbos. Alkaios refers to Messon as, 'there where Lesbian women with trailing robes go to and fro being judged for beauty, and around rings the marvellous sound of the sacred yearly shout of women'.[111] We learn more about the nature of this beauty contest from a native Lesbian, Theophrastos of Eresos, in a fragment of his work *On Love.* Theophrastos argues that *kallos* (physical beauty) without *sophrosyne* (moderation) will lead to *akolasia* (immoderate behaviour, in particular sexual licentiousness). He thus distinguishes the beauty contests held on Lesbos and Tenedos from others on the grounds that they do not just take *kallos* into consideration, but also *sophrosyne* and *oikonomia* (management of the household).[112] As Suzanne Amigues has recently demonstrated, ideas of moderation, restraint, and chastity were in fact central to the cult of Hera as it was celebrated at Messon.[113] As Theophrastos remarks, physical beauty is just a question of luck or good genes, and so the decision to judge value-laden concepts such as *sophrosyne* and *oikonomia* in addition to *kallos* therefore turned the contest at Messon into a broader judgement of Lesbian values and the extent to which they were embodied by the women of each of the cities.[114]

Two further aspects of the sanctuary are worth noting. Firstly, as has already been discussed (section 5.2.4 above), the sanctuary was

[110] *RPC* 4.370, 1971, 2618 (all temporary numbers). See further Archontidou-Argyri and Labarre (1996) 126–7, 136–8.

[111] Alkaios fr. 130b.17–20 L-P: *ὄππαι Λ[εσβί]αδες κριννόμεναι φύαν / πώλεντ' ἐλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων / ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας.*

[112] Theophrastos F 564 Fortenbaugh = Ath. 13.610a–b with Amigues (2013) 104–5. Note that just before this in Athenaeus both Theophrastos (F 563 Fortenbaugh) and Myrsilos of Methymna (*FGrHist* 477 F 4) have been quoted on the beauty contest held at Elis. It is therefore possible that Myrsilos, like Theophrastos, may have been discussing the contest at Messon in a comparative context.

[113] Amigues (2013).

[114] Note that *gynaikonomia* is attested at Methymna in the Hellenistic period: *IG* XII (2) 499 + Suppl. p. 30 (second half of the third century). On this institution see most recently Piolot (2009).

not just a space where the cities of Lesbos could compete over which of them best represented the island's values, but also where conflicts of other kinds could be resolved or, at the very least, temporarily suspended. Thus, Alkaios chose it as his place of exile in the late seventh century and the refounded koinon appointed it as the place for third-party tribunals to be held in the early second century BC. The annual rhythm of the cities of Lesbos gathering at Messon to celebrate a festival together which fostered a regional identity was therefore stochastically punctuated by the sanctuary's use as a place to mediate and defuse the tensions which arose between the island's cities. Secondly, a curious aspect of the site is that relatively little use seems to have been made of it as a space for permanent display. To the best of my knowledge, the sanctuary has produced no inscriptions and only meagre indications of the existence of statue bases and dedications of other kinds. Even if we look to villages in the wider area we find no inscriptions in re-use which are likely to have originated in the sanctuary. This does not seem to be just an accident of survival, since the temple itself is relatively well preserved, and so we might expect at least a proportion of the inscriptions and dedications in the sanctuary to be in evidence if they had existed.[115] In addition, when publication clauses survive in documents to do with the refounded koinon, they do not specify Messon as a place of publication but rather one of the cities.[116] Indeed, as I shall discuss in Chapter 6, when the Mytilenaians later decided to assimilate Agrippina the Elder and Younger to the principal deity of the federal sanctuary, Hera in the form of Thea Aiolis Karpophoros, they chose to do so on the acropolis of Mytilene and in the city's main extramural sanctuary, not at Messon.

The sanctuary at Messon clearly had the capacity to act as a place where a collective Lesbian identity was experienced and performed. At times of crisis and in response to external threats this will no doubt have taken the form of a Lesbian identity which temporarily superseded individual polis identities. However, the evidence suggests that, normally, the annual festival celebrated at Messon was viewed by the

[115] As Yannis Kourtzellis (Ephorate of Antiquities, Lesbos) points out to me, a caveat is that very little of the area around the temple itself has been excavated. While the absence of inscriptions and statue bases in re-use locally remains striking, it may well be that there is more to the sanctuary complex than has so far been found.

[116] *IG* XII Suppl. 139B.54–5, C.98–100.

cities as an opportunity to contest and lay claim to Lesbian identity, in much the same way as I argued in Chapter 1 that the koinon of Athena Ilias and the Panathenaia festival provided a forum for intra-regional competition. While the cities were apparently happy to cooperate in order to build a new temple for the sanctuary *c.*340–320 (something which was in the individual interest of all the cities), the apparent lack of interest in using Messon as a space for display suggests that this willingness to cooperate should be interpreted quite narrowly.

5.3.4 Foundation Myths

An important feature of the foundation myths produced by the cities of Lesbos in the Hellenistic period is that they did not just seek to establish the circumstances in which the city was founded, but also to advance the claim that their city was the first to be established on Lesbos. For example, when, at the very beginning of the third century, the mythographer Antikleides of Athens asked his Methymnaian acquaintances who it was that had founded Lesbos, they told him the following story. When Gras and his fellow kings were about to set out for the island to found their colony, they solicited an oracle from Poseidon who told them that, while crossing the Aegean, they must sacrifice a virgin to him by throwing her into the sea. During the voyage, one of the kings, *Ἔναλος* ('in-the-brine'), fell in love with the girl, and so when she was thrown into the sea he jumped in after her. Later, when Methymna had become a prosperous city, a great wave cast him ashore, at which point he informed the Methymnaians that the girl now resided with the Nereids, while Poseidon had charged him with looking after his horses beneath the sea.[117] A few decades later, at some point in the first half of the third century, Myrsilos of Methymna recorded his own version of this story which rooted the tale far more firmly in the landscape and culture of Lesbos. The kings are now the Penthilidai, known to us from the abuse which Alkaios heaped on their descendants in his poetry, the girl is the daughter of a certain Smintheus, evoking the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus not far from Methymna in the southern Troad, and Enalos now makes his

[117] Antikleides of Athens *FGrHist* 140 F 4 = Ath. 11.466c–781c.

way back to Methymna riding a dolphin, recalling the miraculous rescue of the city's most famous son, Arion of Methymna.[118]

By contrast, at precisely this time the Mytilenaian writer Dionysios Scytobrachion was instead relating a tale of the foundation of Lesbos in which Mytilene was the island's first city.[119] According to Dionysios, long before the Trojan War, the Amazons had set out from their home on the island of Hespera near the stream of Ocean and travelled east to conquer the entire Mediterranean basin. Whenever their queen, Myrina, came upon a particularly suitable location for a settlement, she would found a city there—for example, Priene in Ionia, Kyme, Pitane, and Myrina in Aiolis, and Mytilene on Lesbos, which she named after her own sister.[120] Yet further versions existed: for example, also at around this time Kallimachos claimed in the *Aitia* that the island was founded by *Μύτων* the son of Poseidon and Mytilene, and thus that the original name of Lesbos was in fact *Μυτωνίς*, while another tradition again claimed that the founder was in fact a certain *Μυτιλής*.[121] As these examples illustrate, while in the third century both the Mytilenaians and the Methymnaians were heavily invested in the question of who had founded Lesbos, this interest was motivated not by the importance to these cities of a collective Lesbian identity, but rather by their desire to establish themselves as the first and thus the 'true' Lesbians.[122]

118 Myrsilos of Methymna *FGrHist* 477 F 14 = Plut. *Mor.* 984e. See at much greater length (but with some crucial details missing) Plut. *Mor.* 163a–d. For discussion of the Penthilidai see Chapter 6.3.2.

119 There is some question over his ethnic, but see Constantakopoulou's judicious commentary on *BNJ* 32 T 1.

120 Dionysios Scytobrachion *BNJ* 32 F 7 = Diod. 3.52–61 at 55.6–7.

121 Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυτιλήνη . . . οἱ δὲ ὅτι Μυτίλης ἦν ὁ οἰκιστής. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μύτωνος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Μυτιλήνης, ὅθεν Μυτωνίδα καλεῖ τὴν Λέσβον Καλλίμαχος* [F 111 Harder] *ἐν τῶι δ΄ (Αἰτίων). Παρθένιος* [F 48 Lightfoot] *δὲ Μυτωνίδας τὰς Λεσβικάς φησι* ('Some say that Mytiles was its founder. But others say that it was named after Myton, the son of Poseidon and Mytilene; that is why Kallimachos in his fourth book [of the *Aitia*] calls Lesbos Mytonis, and Parthenios calls the women of Lesbos Mytonides'). The purpose of this aetiology appears in part to be to establish *Μυτιλήνη* rather than *Μιτυλήνη* as the correct spelling, as is explained in Ps-Herod. *De solecismo et barbarismo* p. 309.13 (ed. Nauck). The artificiality of this tradition is perhaps also indicated by the fact that while we do encounter individuals named Myton, they are never from Lesbos: *LGPN* I (Euboia, Tenos), IIA (Athens), IIIB (Lebadeia), VA (Ephesos, Erythrai, Kolophon). See Dale (2015) for Mytilene's actual etymology, which appears to mean 'the place which Muwatalliš rules' and dates back to the period when Lazpa (= Lesbos) belonged to the Hittite sphere of influence.

122 Compare Thuc. 6.2–6 on the competing foundation narratives among Sicilians.

A third tradition instead cast the hero Makar as the founder of Lesbos. This is already attested in the *Iliad*, where Lesbos is referred to as the *Μάκαρος ἕδος* ('seat of Makar'), and in subsequent centuries individual cities occasionally drew on this myth to explain their own origins.[123] However, at some point in the Hellenistic period this tradition was reformulated: unlike the mutually incompatible traditions that each of the Lesbian cities produced to stake their individual claim to Lesbian identity, this third tradition about Makar was instead shared by *all* the cities of Lesbos and cast them as equals. In this version, each of the cities derived its name from a son or daughter of Makar, who was the first person to repopulate Lesbos after Deukalion's flood. The fullest account of this tradition is found in Diodorus Siculus (mid-first century BC). He relates that Makar, a grandson of Zeus, led the first wave of colonization, and that Lesbos, a grandson of Aiolos, later led a second wave. Makar and Lesbos ruled the island jointly, with Makar marrying his daughter, Methymna, to Lesbos. While Lesbos named the island after himself, Makar named each of the cities after one of his children. Diodorus mentions Methymna and Mytilene, but we know from other sources that similar traditions existed for Antissa, Eresos, and possibly Pyrrha.[124] According to Diodorus, his other children were later involved in the foundations of Chios, Samos, Kos, and Rhodes, and no doubt other cities along the coastal corridor of western Asia Minor likewise claimed to have been founded by a son or daughter of Makar.[125]

By acknowledging and promoting this tradition, the Lesbian cities were not just affirming their equally close genealogical relationship to Makar, but also renouncing the claims of anteriority (and therefore superiority) which, for example, the foundation tales of Myrsilos and Dionysios had attempted to advance in the third century. It is therefore tempting to follow Olivier Curty in concluding that this new, more conciliatory spirit in the island's mythology was intended to mirror and indeed legitimize the more cooperative style of politics between the Lesbian cities which was ushered in by the refoundation

[123] Seat of Makar: *Il.* 24.544, *HH Apoll.* 1.37. Antissa: *Σ Il.* 24.544c (ed. Erbse). Mytilene: Hekataios of Miletos *BNJ* 1 F 140 = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυτιλήνη* (unclear how much of this was originally in Hekataios).

[124] Diod. 5.81–2 (Methymna and Mytilene); Philon *BNJ* 790 F 26 = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄντισσα*; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἔρεσος*; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀγαμήδη*.

[125] Diod. 5.81.7–8.

of the koinon *c.*200.[126] In this connection, it is significant that both Eresos and Methymna refer to the Milesians as *συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι* ('kinsmen and friends') and are happy to summon foreign judges from them. This implies that the two Lesbian cities understood themselves to stand in an equal genealogical relationship to Miletos (a principle intended to guarantee the impartiality of the Milesian judges) and therefore to one another. The obvious candidate for such a mythological genealogy would be that of Makar.[127] Indeed, as Curty has noted, a reference to *συγγένεια καὶ φιλία* would fit well in the prescript of the koinon treaty where there is a fragmentary reference to something which has existed in the past between the cities and motivates this agreement between them.[128]

5.3.5 Identity and Iconography on the Coinages of Hellenistic Lesbos

Another venue in which the cities of Lesbos could have expressed a collective identity had they wished to do so was coinage. Elsewhere in the Greek world, we encounter koina as minting authorities in their own right (Figure 5.2.a—the Aitolian koinon), koina where a coinage with common types is produced at the mints of individual member states and identifies itself as being a product of both the koinon and of the particular city (Figure 5.2.b—the Lykian koinon), and koina which produce coins of both types (Figure 5.2.c–d—the Achaian koinon).[129] In the case of Lesbos, not only do we not see convergence on a shared iconography, but on the contrary we in fact see mints becoming even *more* focused on their own identity at precisely the time when the koinon was refounded *c.*200.

In the first half of the third century Mytilene and Methymna both produced sizeable silver coinages with civic types. The weight standard and denominations chosen for these issues show that they were minted as part of a broader phenomenon in western Asia Minor at

[126] Curty (1995) 150–1. [127] *IG* XII Suppl. 139B.30, 51–2, C.68, 96–7.
[128] *IG* XII Suppl. 136A.5–6 with Curty (1995) 150 n. 54.
[129] For recent discussion see Mackil and van Alfen (2006) 219–35 and Mackil (2013) 247–55.

Figure 5.2. (a) Silver triobol, Aitolian koinon, *c.*205–150 BC. ANS 1963.31.115 = Tsangari (2007) 162, no. 1347. (b) Silver drachm, Lykian koinon (Rhodiapolis), *c.*167–81 BC. ANS 1973.101.7 = Troxell (1982) 62, no. 40.4a. (c) Silver drachm, Achaian koinon, fourth century BC. ANS 1950.53.6. (d) Silver hemidrachm, Achaian koinon (Patrai), *c.*100–85 BC. ANS 1965.31.3.

Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

this time of cities producing 'twin track' coinages—coins on the Attic weight standard (17.2 g tetradrachm) with the types of Alexander or Lysimachos for 'vertical' transactions with the Hellenistic kingdoms and international trade more generally, coins on the so-called 'Persic' standard (11.2 g double siglos—but denominated as drachms rather than sigloi) with civic types for 'horizontal' transactions within the city and with other cities.[130] Mytilene produced Persic didrachms (11.2 g), hemidrachms (2.8 g—Figure 5.3.a), and obols (0.93 g) with the same types: *Obv.* laureate head of Apollo facing right; *Rev.* kithara with the legend *MYTI*.[131] The Persic hemidrachms of Methymna have somewhat similar types to their Mytilenaian counterparts (*Obv.* head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet facing right; *Rev.* kithara and *MAΘY*—Figure 5.3.b), while the Persic trihemiobols (1.4 g) instead have *Obv.* head of Herakles facing right (familiar from Alexander's coinage), *Rev.* Arion riding the dolphin with *MAΘY* (Figure 5.3.c).[132] In the first half of the third century, therefore, similarities in iconography were relatively weak, while the rather stronger similarities in weight standard and coin denominations were to do with broader monetary patterns in western Asia Minor.

These trends only became more pronounced in the next period when Mytilene and Methymna minted silver coinage *c.*215–*c.*170. Despite these decades being precisely the time when the koinon was being refounded and was in full operation prior to the destruction of Antissa in 167, we see no convergence on a common iconography of Lesbian identity. For example, Mytilene had previously produced coins with the types of Alexander *c.*275 (Price 1697) whose only distinguishing mark was a lyre rather than the kithara to be found on the city's contemporary Persic weight coinage with civic types. By contrast, when Mytilene began minting Alexanders again *c.*215 (Price 1698—Figure 5.4.a) it featured a herm of Dionysos as one of the control marks on the reverse, and this appeared with some frequency on Mytilene's Alexanders *c.*190–*c.*170 (Price 1721–1726, cf. 1735).

This herm is depicted much more clearly on a short-lived series of spread-flan tetradrachms which Mytilene minted in the mid-160s

[130] Thonemann (2015) 53–5.

[131] *BMC Lesbos* 187, nos. 28–31 (didrachms), 32–6 (hemidrachms), *BNF Fonds Général* 196 (obol).

[132] Franke (1975) 169, nos. 13 (hemidrachms) and 16 (trihemiobols).

Figure 5.3. (a) Silver hemidrachm on the Persic standard, Mytilene, *c.*300–250 BC. ANS 1975.218.48 = *SNG* Berry 1014. (b) Silver hemidrachm on the Persic standard, Methymna, *c.*300–250 BC. ANS 1944.100.44337 = Franke (1975) 169, no. 13. (c) Silver trihemiobol on the Persic standard, Methymna, *c.*300–250 BC. *SNG* Ashmolean 1520 = Franke (1975) 169, no. 16.

(a and b) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (c) Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

(Figure 5.4.b).[133] At around this time, the same types used for these spread-flan tetradrachms also began to predominate on Mytilene's

[133] I know of 5 examples of the spread-flan tetradrachms, 3 of which are from hoards: *CH* 8.433, no. 468 (buried *c.*162; *SNG Copenhagen Supplement* 326), *IGCH* 1774.76 (buried *c.*155–150; *Berlin*, 367/1928), *CH* 8.471, Pl. LXIV.2 + *CH* 10.322 (buried *c.*120; *Morton & Eden* 86 [24/5/2017] 30). There are 3 obverse dies in 4 die pairs. Significantly, the die pair we would expect to come last because it features a magistrate's name in exergue on the reverse appears in the earliest of these three hoards (*CH* 8.433), suggesting that the whole series was produced before *c.*162.

Figure 5.4. (a) Reverse of silver tetradrachm with types of Alexander, Mytilene, *c.*215–200 BC. ANS 1944.100.31446 = Price 1698. (b) Wreathed silver tetradrachm, Mytilene, mid-160s BC. *Morton & Eden* 86 (24/5/2017) 30. (c) Large bronze, Mytilene, mid-second century BC. ANS 1944.100.44556.

(a and c) Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. (b) © Morton & Eden Ltd (www.mortonandeden.com).

bronze coinage, and continued to do so down to the first century BC (Figure 5.4.c).[134] Here we see that a mask of Dionysos has been attached to a crude triangular block and placed on a base. This cult

[134] *BMC Lesbos* 193–6, nos. 106–139. The die axes are adjusted to 12 h, guaranteeing a second–first century BC date. The early examples of the series are stylistically close to the spread-flan tetradrachms, suggesting a start date in the early second century. The appearance of a dotted border on the obverse at a certain point in the series (*BMC Lesbos* 195–6, nos. 131–139) suggests the series continued down into the last third of the second century/first century.

object has been identified as the olive-wood mask of Dionysos Phallen which, according to a tradition preserved by the Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara (*fl.* AD 100) and later Pausanians (*c.*AD 110–*c.*180), was fished out of the sea by Methymnaian fishermen, recognized as an image of Dionysos following consultation of Delphi, and eventually worshipped at Methymna.[135] Peter Thonemann has recently concluded that, 'To all appearances, the Mytileneans are simply trying it on: a prestigious Methymnaean cult image is depicted as though it were "really" a Mytilenean cult. No doubt some fierce local rivalry between the two cities underlies this outrageous cultic pilfering'.[136]

It is worth noting, however, that Dionysos Phallen only first appears on the coinage of Methymna in the reign of Commodus (*c.*AD 182–184: Figure 5.5.d).[137] When Methymna minted posthumous Alexanders for the first time *c.*215–*c.*180, the city instead chose Arion and the dolphin as its distinguishing control mark (Price 1691–1694), occasionally accompanied by a ship's prow (Price 1695–1695A: Figure 5.5.c). This ship's prow could refer either to the myths about Enalos and the foundation of Methymna in Antikleides of Athens and Myrsilos of Methymna (section 5.3.4 above), or alternatively to the pirates who captured Arion. We have already seen that Methymna chose to depict Arion and the dolphin on its Persic trihemiobols of the first half of the third century, and they also appear on the city's Hellenistic bronze coinage and later on its Imperial era coinage (Figure 5.5b).[138] Methymna's interest in advertising its connection to Dionysos Phallen is therefore late and suspiciously close in time to our only two literary sources for the cult. Significantly, the earliest

[135] Oenomaus fr. 13 Mullach = Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 5.36.1–4, Paus. 10.19.3. Discussion in Casevitz and Frontisi-Ducroux (1989). The numismatic evidence is summarized in Lacroix (1949) 48–54 who, however, thinks that the Dionysos of Methymna/Antissa is not the same as that of Mytilene.

[136] Thonemann (2015) 63.

[137] *RPC* 4.404 (temporary number). There are two further Methymnaian examples which probably date to the third century AD: **1)** *BNF Fonds Général* 120 = Franke (1975) 172, no. 30 (there dated post-167 BC, but more likely to be third century AD based on fabric and lettering); **2)** *BNF Fonds Général* 121 = Franke (1975) 172, no. 1. I am grateful to Volker Heuchert for discussion of these two coins. A Dionysia festival involving the carrying around of the god's cult image is attested at Methymna in the late third century BC, but unfortunately the god's epithet is not specified: *IG* XII (2) 503.9–10. Even if this is Dionysos Phallen, the significant point for the argument here is that Methymna instead chose to emphasize its link with Arion on its coinage at this time.

[138] Franke (1975) 171–2, nos. 24 and 27.

Figure 5.5. (a) Small bronze, Antissa, third century BC. *Roma Numismatics* E-Sale 35 (29/4/2017) 241. (b) Large bronze, Methymna, mid-second century BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 139 = Franke (1975) 172, no. 27. (c) Reverse of silver tetradrachm with types of Alexander and with Arion and the dolphin and a ship's prow as control marks, Methymna, *c.*188–180 BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 761 = Price 1695. (d) Reverse of a bronze coin, Methymna, *c.*AD 182–184. *BNF Fonds Général* 147 = *RPC* 4.404 (temporary number).

(a) © Roma Numismatics Ltd <http://romanumismatics.com/>. (b, c, and d) Source © Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

depictions of Dionysos Phallen come from neither Methymna nor Mytilene, but rather Antissa, which minted two issues of bronze coinage depicting the god's mask in the third and early second century (Figure 5.5.a).[139] Mytilene's 'outrageous cultic pilfering' was therefore at the expense of Antissa, not Methymna.

Finally, the chronology of the Mytilenaian coins depicting this cult image gives us an insight into the sharp-elbowed politics of the Lesbian koinon. Since Mytilene's posthumous Alexanders date *c.*215–*c.*170, with depictions of Dionysos Phallen spread throughout this date range, it appears that Mytilene was laying claim to Antissa's cult throughout the period when the refounded koinon was in operation. Moreover, given that hoard evidence places the minting of Mytilene's handsome spread-flan tetradrachms depicting Dionysos Phallen in the mid-160s, it is tempting to see this special issue as boldly claiming the cult for Mytilene as soon as Antissa could no longer dispute this following the city's destruction in 167.[140] When Mytilene began once again to depict local myths and deities on its coinage under the Flavians we see depictions of Dionysos Phallen reappear on coins from the reigns of Domitian, Hadrian, and an uncertain Antonine emperor.[141] Judging from the literary sources, it was during this period that Methymna began to contest Mytilene's ownership of the cult, presumably on the grounds that it had inherited this Antissan cult when it had annexed the territory of Antissa.

In sum, the evidence of the coins shows no convergence on a common iconography of island identity across the third and second century BC. Indeed, if we only had the coins to go on we would have no reason to think that there had been any kind of move towards greater cooperation between the island's cities in this period. On the contrary, cases like Mytilene's appropriation of the venerable cult of

[139] The other issue has a head of Apollo as the obverse type: *BMC Lesbos* 175, nos. 1–7. Somewhat inexplicably, Franke (1975) 172, no. 29 attributes *BMC Lesbos* 175, no. 4 to Methymna despite the presence of the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΣ* on the reverse.

[140] For the dating of the spread-flan tetradrachms see n. 131 above.

[141] *RPC* 2.913 (Domitian): *Obv. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ*; draped bust of Domitia r. *Rev. ΜΥΤΙΛΕΝΝΑ*; turreted Tyche (Mytilenna) standing r., holding mask of Dionysos Phallen. *RPC* 3.1688 (Hadrian): *Obv. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒ—ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ*; laureate and cuirassed bust of Hadrian r. with paludamentum; *Rev. ΜΥΤΙ*; turreted Tyche standing l., holding herm of Dionysos Phallen on ship's prow. *RPC* 4.8473 (uncertain Antonine emperor—temporary number): *Obv. ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*; bare head of 'Aelius' r. *Rev. ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ*; herm of Dionysos Phallen facing on ship's prow. For discussion of the date see *RPC* 3, p. 204.

Dionysos Phallen from Antissa, or indeed Methymna's annexation of Antissa in 167, suggest that the cities of Lesbos continued to act in their own interests despite the refoundation of the koinon.

5.3.6 Proxeny and Separateness

A recently re-edited proxeny list from Eresos suggests that the studied separateness which we see in the numismatic iconography of the Lesbian cities was also apparent in their approach to inter-state relations within Lesbos. The list was created in three phases over the period *c.*230–*c.*200 BC.[142] Although the names of only 72 *proxenoi* remain, the original list would have consisted of at least *c.*350.[143] In the first phase of inscribing extra space was left beside the Lesbian cities in the expectation that a particularly large number of new *proxenoi* would come from these cities.[144] This turns out to have been correct. For example, from the second phase of inscribing we find a stray Methymnaian in the extra space left for Aiginetans. The explanation seems to be that in the time it took Eresos to appoint just one more Aiginetan *proxenos* they had appointed so many Methymnaian *proxenoi* that they had not only used up the extra space left in the first phase of inscribing, but now needed to 'borrow' space which had been left for other cities.[145] Indeed, of the 72 *proxenoi* that remain on the stone, 31 are Lesbians, and we can estimate that of the initial *c.*175 names inscribed in the first phase, *c.*70 (or two-fifths) were from Lesbian poleis.[146]

In discussing this text, Robert assumed that this was simply the result one would expect for an island.[147] However, as William Mack has observed, the proxeny list of Karthaia on Keos originally contained no more than one or two *proxenoi* from other Keian cities.[148] As Mack argues elsewhere, the significant point with proxeny is that it is an institution which emphasizes the *separateness* of polities. The

[142] *IG* XII Suppl. 127 with Mack (2012) esp. 224–9 for a catalogue of the *proxenoi*, a re-edited text, and photos of the squeezes.

[143] Mack (2012) 223–4. This is a conservative estimate based on a minimum height for the stone.

[144] Mack (2012) 218–19.

[145] Mack (2012) 221.

[146] Mack (2012) 224.

[147] Robert (1966) 116.

[148] Mack (2012) 224 and for a detailed analysis of the Karthaian list (*IG* XII (5) 542) see Mack (2011) and (2015) 182–8.

fact that it *is* an honour to grant the *proxenos* a package of privileges which represents quasi- or full-citizenship underlines the point that the *proxenos*' fellow citizens do not otherwise enjoy any privileges in the polis which is honouring him.[149] Proxeny grants therefore assert separateness, and so the frenetic manner in which Lesbian cities appointed *proxenoi* in other Lesbian cities can be viewed both as a continual re-statement of their political independence from one another and as a competitive performance of 'polishood' before the set of peers who, at least in this period, really mattered to a Lesbian city—other Lesbian cities.[150] The very fact that the Eresians went to the trouble of prominently displaying a list of all their *proxenoi* would seem to confirm this latter point. Moreover, it is striking that we get a reference to the Eresians having erected a successor to this proxeny list in a decree which post-dates the re-founding of the koinon: it would therefore seem that there was no fundamental shift in the character of inter-state relations on Lesbos before and after *c.*200.[151]

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the cities of Lesbos were located on an island rather than on the mainland clearly made a difference to their sense of regional identity. Although Methymna was located much closer to Assos on the coast opposite than Mytilene on the other side of the island, Methymna never involved itself in the cultic associations which Assos belonged to, but did involve itself in the Lesbian koinon to which Mytilene belonged (see Chapter 6.3.1). While interaction with the mainland was of undoubted importance to the cities of Lesbos, above all to Mytilene on account of its *peraia* (Chapters 4 and 6), the island's cities nevertheless usually perceived their insular location to trump other identity ties. While the importance of Lesbos as a focus for local identity should therefore not be underestimated, it should also not be misinterpreted. For the cities of Lesbos, privileging a

[149] Mack (2015) 209–13.

[150] On this use of honours compare Thonemann (2007) on the contemporary parallel of Magnesia and Miletos getting into a cycle of seeking ever greater levels of international recognition for their festivals in order to outdo their neighbour.

[151] See *IG* XII Suppl. 139C.93–4 with Mack (2012) 222–3.

common Lesbian identity meant competing over ownership of 'Lesbianness' and viewing one another as the set of peers they would most like to be superior to. Only in quite exceptional circumstances, for example the deeply uncertain political climate of the late third and early second century BC, did identifying with a common Lesbian identity also entail a willingness to cooperate with one another for the greater good. Even then, there is no suggestion that the further step of political unification was a desired goal, and the willingness of Mytilene and Methymna to profit at the expense of the island's smaller cities such as Antissa in precisely this period indicates that this sense of fellow-feeling was fairly superficial. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that while the cities of Lesbos usually privileged island identity over other identity ties, this was not always the case. As discussed in Chapter 4.2.4, in the Archaic period when the other cities of Lesbos were privileging their borders with one another on Lesbos as the spaces in which they shaped and contested their polis identities, Mytilene was instead using its *peraia* (above all the fort at Achilleion) as the space in which it did this. Likewise, as we shall see in Chapter 6, in the first century BC and AD the *peraia* again played a crucial role in persuading Mytilene to privilege its connection to the mainland over its connection to the other cities of Lesbos in formulating its civic identity.

APPENDIX: THE TREATY OF THE LESBIAN KOINON

Three fragments (A, B, C) have been found on Delos. Fr. A is now lost, Frr. B and C are in the Delos museum (inv. *Δ* 457A–B). The findspots of Frr. A and C are unknown. Fr. B was recorded by Félix Dürrbach and Auguste Jardé on 16 June 1903 'à la surface du sol, entre le *Porinos Oikos* et l'*Artémision*'.[152] The inscription is likely spolia from Théophile Homolle's excavations in this area in 1877–1879, since most of the inscriptions published from the 1903 season were recorded as part of an effort to clear debris from his excavations.[153]

[152] Dürrbach and Jardé (1905) 209. Porinos Oikos and Artemision: *Guide de Délos*[4] nos. 11, 46.

[153] Dürrbach and Jardé (1904) 266–7.

Figure 5.6. Drawing of fr. A of *IG* XII Suppl. 136 by Ravoisié and Poirot. Blouet (1831–8) 3:Pl. 12, Fig. 1.

Fr. A. Published by Le Bas (1835–9) 5:110–25 no. 191 after a drawing made in 1829 by Amable Ravoisié and Achille Poirot in Blouet (1831–8) 3:Pl. 12, Fig. 1, illustrated above as Figure 5.6 (Böckh, *CIG* 2:1058 no. 2265b; Ahrens [1839–43] 2:495–9; Bechtel, *SGDI* I 319; Hoffmann [1891–8] 2:91–2 no. 127; Roussel, *IG* XI (4) 1064a [provides his own majuscule text], Hiller, *IG* XII Suppl. 136). Ravoisié and Poirot's lack of epigraphic expertise introduced many errors into their drawing.[154]

Upper right corner of a stele, broken below and to the right, with a moulding at top (dimensions not recorded). The line length can be

[154] Le Bas (1835–9) 5:110–11, 113, 124–5 criticized Ravoisié and Poirot for (1) not making a squeeze, (2) not representing the *lacunae* to scale, (3) not rendering the lettering accurately; see further Robert, *OMS* 1:587–9. Note, however, that Le Bas's low opinion is partly based on the mistaken belief (pp. 124–5) that the names *Κλεαφένης*, *Ἀγέμορτος*, and *Εὐαφένης* must be incorrect readings: but see correctly Masson, *OGS* 1:44, 56–7, 72–4, and already Ahrens (1839–43) 2:497–8.

estimated at 70–80 letters, since in line 3 we are only missing patronymic + *μῆνος* + Antissan month name.

ἀγάθα τύχα· ἐπὶ προτάνιος ἐμ̣ Μ[υτιλήνα – – – – – – – – – – – – – –, μῆνος]
Θεδ̣αισίω, ἐν δὲ Μαθύμνα ἐπὶ προτ[άνιος – – – – – – – – – – – – – –, ἐν δὲ]
Ἀντίσσα{ς} ἐπὶ προτάν<ι>ος Κλεαφέν[η– – – – – ἐν δὲ Ἐρέσω ἐπὶ προτάνι]-
ος Ἀγεμόρτω Με[λ]αντάω, μῆνος Δαι̣[σίω·– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –εἰς]
τὸν ἄει [χ]ρόνον ἐμ̣ Μέσσω ἐπὶ τῶν ὀ[– – – – – – τὰν συγγένειαν τὰν πρόσ]-
[θ]ε ὐπάρχοισαν αὔτοισι διὰ τῶν ἀ[–]
Πολυδεύκη{ς} Μέγωνος, Εὐαφένη Ἀ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
Ἐρμογένη Ἀδ̣ράστω, ἐγ δὲ Μα̣θύμ[νας – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
Ζωΐλω Δαμοδικείω, Ἄγ̣η Διονυσοδ̣ω[ρείω, – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
εχείδα Θεοκλει[. .]ω, <Ζύ>μμιδ̣ο̣ς? Ἀ[γε]μονε̣[ίω – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
τω Σκαμανδ[ρ]ωνα[κ]τε[ί]ω, . . . Ν . . . ΑΙ . Ω[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
Γ̣λαύκωνος [Ἀγ]νωνε[ί]ω, . . . Ο . Ν . Ο . ΠΑ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
. Η̣Ω κα[σ?]ιγν[– c.7–8 –] ΣΟ . . Λ . . ΚΓΑΝ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
. . Ι̣ Φιλονε[ιδεί]ω̣ . . . Ο . . . . . . ΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
trium versuum reliquiae

3 For the gen. *–η* (Hoffmann) instead of *–εος* (Roussel, Hiller) see Masson, *OGS* 1:57 n. 10. For reasons of space the six dashes here represent *c*.20 missing letters. || **5** *ἐμ Μέσσω ἐπὶ τῶν ὀ[ρίων vel ὄ[ρων τᾶν πολίων ?]*. || **5–6** For the restoration of *συγγένειαν* rather than (or in addition to) *φίλιαν* see Curty (1995) 150 n. 54. || 7 *ΕΥΑΕΕΝΗ* (Ravoisié and Poirot). Resolved as *Εὐαγένη* in most editions (see line 8 for an example of this transcription error), but Masson, *OGS* 1:56–7 prefers *Εὐαφένη* on the grounds that composites of *–αφένης* are particularly associated with Lesbos. || **8** *ΑΛΡΑΣΤΩ* (Ravoisié and Poirot). *Ἀδ̣ράστω* (Roussel), incorrectly *Ἀδ̣ρόστω* (Hiller, followed by *LGPN* I). For the Adrasteia at Mytilene see *IG* XII (2) 484.10 (third century AD: Hodot [1990] 289). || **9** *Α ¯Η* (Ravoisié and Poirot). This should be *Ἄγ̣η* (so already Hoffmann), not Bechtel's *Δ̣ί̣η* (followed by all subsequent editions): Masson, *OGS* 1:75–7. || **9–10** *[Προσ]εχείδα*: Bechtel (1909) 59–60. || **10** *ΘΕΟΚΛΕ . . ΩΙ . ΙΜΜΙ̣Δ . . ΣΑΓ . . ΜΟΝ* (Ravoisié and Poirot). Le Bas suggested *Θεοκλε[ίτ]ω*, corrected by Wilamowitz to *Θεοκλε[ιτεί]ω* to make a patronymic adjective. If Ravoisié and Poirot accurately represented the *lacuna*'s length (by no means certain), then Wilamowitz's suggestion is too long. However, it could be a case of haplography (i.e. *Θεοκλε[ιτ<εί>]ω*) as a result of the Delian stonecutter's unfamiliarity with this Lesbian idiom.

Fr. B. Dürrbach and Jardé (1905) 209–14 no. 68 (ph. in their Fig. 2); Roussel, *IG* XI (4) 1064b (Hiller, *IG* XII Suppl. 136; Ager (1996) no. 92 [= B.36–52]). Wilhelm (1909) 315–16 established that Frs. A and B are non-joining fragments of the same inscription.

Large fragment of grey-blue marble broken on all sides (height 0.5 m, length 0.21 m, thickness 0.225 m). Letters 0.6–0.7 mm. Palaeography: see Dürrbach and Jardé (1905) 209.

[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]. ΑΑΕ̣Λ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – –]άρχοισι ὐπαρχέτωσ[αν – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – στρ]ατιώταις εἰς τὰν χώραν ἔτι ἀν[– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –]χεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ μισθόφορα ἄ κε διατ[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – ἐκ μὲν Ἐρέ]σω ἐξακοσίων, ἐγ δὲ Μαθύμνας τε[τρακοσίων – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –] συμμαχίας δεύῃ βολλεύεσθαι ἐξαποσ[τελλ– – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –α]ς ἐκλησιαζόντεσσι μηδὲ χειροτόνην α[– – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –]παντες φυλάσσοντον καὶ δόντες ἐπι[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –] συνβολλεύην δὲ ἐξέστω ἐν τᾶ ἐκλησ[ία – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –] ἐκλησίας ἕκαστοι τοῖσι παρ' ἐαύτω[ν – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – –]ύχοντες οἰ ὐπὸ τῶ κοί[ν]ω δεδείγμενοι επαρχ[– – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – ἐ]κτίθεντον ἐν ταῖς πολίεσσι πρὸ ἀμέραν [– – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – –] τὰν κοίναν ἀσφάλειαν φέρων ἕκαστος ἀπ[– – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – –] τᾶν ἐλαίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δένδρων καὶ κτη[μάτων – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –]ναι τᾶς ἐξηκοίστας τᾶς Μυτιληνάων χώρας [– – – – – –]
[– – – – – –]αις κυρίοι[ς θ]έμεναι τοὶς παρ' ἐκ[ά]στοις ὐπάρ[χοντας – – – – – –]
[– – – – –ἐκάσ]τα πόλε[ι τ]αῖς ὄνναις πρὸς τὸ τᾶς πόλιος νόμ[ισμα? – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –χ]αν? τὰν καθήκοισαν παρ' ἐαύτοις· ἐπεὶ δὲ κ[– – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –] πόλεις πρὸ ἀμέραν δέκα· αἰ δὲ πόλεις ἐξ̣α̣ι . [– – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – –]αν τᾶν πολίων καὶ δίδων εἰς τὰ ἀναλώμ[ατα – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – πέντ]ε ἐκάστας πόλιος· μετὰ δὲ τὰν πρᾶσιν τᾶν ὄνν[αν – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – αἰ δ]έ κέ τις πόλις μὴ δίδω τὰ χρήματα, γράψαι [– – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –] ἀπὸ τᾶς τριακοίστας τᾶς ἀποτεταγμ<έ>να[ς – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – τ]ᾶν προσόδων καί κέ ποθεν αι . . ̣ιεισθητο[– – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – τα]ῦτα τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλ' ὐπ[αρχ]έτωσαν ἐν [– – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – αἰ πό]λεις ἄνευ {ἄνευ} ἀπογράφας καὶ συνβόλ[ας – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – ἀπογράφεσθα]ι πρὸς τοὶς στροτάγοις καὶ εἰς φύλαν ἄν κ[ε βόλληται ἐπικλάρωσθαι– – – – – –]
[– – – – – –]ματα καὶ ἀγόραις ἐπίμελες πόησθον οἰ σ[τρόταγοι– – – – – –]
[– – – – – –]νόμ[ε]νοι βολλεύσονται· ἴνα δὲ καὶ νόμοι εἰσενέχ[θωσι – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – ἐγ δὲ Μυτι]λήνας ἔννεα, ἐγ δὲ Μαθύμνας ἕξ, ἐγ δὲ Ἀντίσ[σας Χ, ἐγ δὲ Ἐρέσω Χ – – – – – –]
[– – – – – –]ον νόμοις εἰς τὰν πρώταν ἐκλησίαν, περί τε ἐφο[– – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – –]ων εἰσαχθησομένων εἰς Μέσσον ἕνεκα τᾶς χρ[– – – – – – – – –]

[– – – – – – *εἰς? αὔ*]*ξησιν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τῶν Λεσβίων καὶ περιπι*[– – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –] *μετὰ ταῦτα ὂν τρόπον οἰ ἐνκάλεν*[*τες* – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – –] *ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἄλλω τῶ θέλοντι Λ*[*εσβίων* ? – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – *συ*]*νθήκα· δίδοντον δὲ τοὶς νόμοις* [– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – *πέ*]*ντε ἀμέραις πρόσθε τᾶς ἐκλησ*[*ίας* – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – –]*θέντων πάντων τῶν πρότε*[*ρον* – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – –]*ασθαι ταὶς πόλεις καὶ μάλιστα* [– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – *ὀμογν*]*ωμονέωσι περὶ τῶ κριτηρίω ε̣Ι*[– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – *τᾶν*] *ἀπογραφείσαν πο*[*λί*]*ων ἀποκλαρω*[*σ*– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – *τᾶν*] *λαχοίσαν πολίων τεσσάρων* [– – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – –]*τ̣α·* [*εἰσ*]*αγώγεας δὲ πένπεσθαι* [– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]*τοις καὶ εἰσαγώγεα*[*ς*] *ἐπε*[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]*οι ἐν τῶ ἴρω τῶ ἐμ Μέσ*[*σω* – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]*νωσιν γράψαντες ε*[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – –] *τὰ διαλύθεντα ἢ κρίθεν*[*τα* – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – *τὰ κρίθ*]*εντα κύρια· αἰ δέ κέ τινε*[*ς* – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]*α̣ι αὔταις δικάσασθα*[*ι* – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – *ἀ*]*ποστέλλωσι τοὶς* [– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] *πρὸ τᾶς συνθή*[*κας* – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – *πε*]*ριεχομένων* [– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]

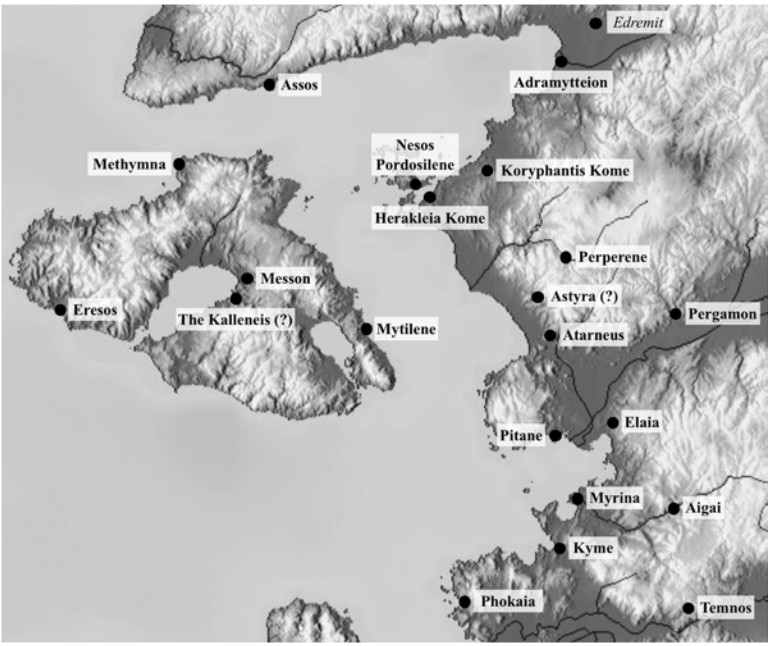
4 Alternatively, *ἐπὶ τᾶ μισθοφόρα* (= *τῇ μισθοφορᾷ*). ‖ **5** [*αἰ δέ κέ τις τᾶν πολίων*] *συμμαχίας δεύη κτλ.* ‖ **7** *ἄ*[*νευ* ?] (Thonemann, pers. comm.). ‖ **18** *κ*[*αί*] or *κ*[*έ*]. ‖ **27** Suppl. Robert, *OMS* 1:209, 439–40. ‖ **28** *σ*[*τρόταγοι*] (Dürrbach and Jardé). ‖ **31** *περί τε ἐφο*[*ρίων*] (Labarre). ‖ **31–2** [— *τε ἐγκλημάτων καὶ συναλλαγμάτ*]*ων* (cf. *IG* XII Suppl. 139.24–5). ‖ **37** The supplement [*ἐν πέ*]*ντε ἀμέραις* (Dürrbach and Jardé) is meaningless, since *ἀμέραις* is an acc. pl. not a dat. pl. ‖ **43** For [*εἰσ*]*αγώγεας* rather than *ἐσ-* on grounds of dialect see Hodot (1990) 141–2. Robert, *OMS* 2:731 n. 3 also raised the possibility of simply reading [-]*τα· vac. ἀγώγεας δὲ πένπεσθαι*.

Fr. C. Roussel, *IG* XI (4) 1064c.

Small fragment broken on all sides (height 0.1 m).

6

Aiolian Land



Map 6.1. Mytilene's *peraia* in northern Aiolis in the first century BC and AD. © Author.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In my previous discussion of Mytilene's mainland territorial possessions (Chapter 4, examining the fifth century *peraia*), the available evidence had much more to say about Mytilene's impact on the mainland communities which it ruled than about the impact which having access to a *peraia* had on Mytilenaian society and politics. By contrast, for the first century BC and AD the situation is reversed: we can say very little about what it was like to be a community on the 'shore of the Mytilenaians' (as Theophrastos called it) in northern Aiolis, but a good deal about what difference having a *peraia* made to Mytilene. In this chapter, therefore, the focus will be on how the relationship between Mytilene and its *peraia* was not just a transactional economic relationship, but, in the right circumstances, could also occupy a central place in Mytilene's social imaginary and thus become central to the identity politics of the city.

Roman rule is crucial to the particular form which these new expressions of regional identity took at Mytilene. In interacting with the provincial administration of Asia and, from the late first century BC onwards, the emperor, Greek cities had to learn how to adapt protocols which had been honed to deal with Hellenistic kings to suit the new context. In addition to this, Roman rule implied a new sense of regionality in terms of the province and, to a lesser extent, the *conventus* to which one belonged and one's status within that province. The consequence of all this was not to do away with pre-existing ideas of regionality, but rather for them to operate alongside, and sometimes in tension with, the new conceptions which derived from Roman rule.[1] The balance of continuity and innovation is well illustrated by a series of appeals which Greek cities made before Tiberius and the Senate in AD 25.[2] In the territorial dispute between Sparta and Messene over the temple of Artemis Limnatis we encounter a range of arguments which would not have been out of place in any Greek territorial dispute since the Archaic period—for example, detailed

[1] Similar questions have been explored in the parallel context of how local and Roman law interacted with one another in the provinces. In particular, the focus in this scholarship on how ideas of legitimacy and hierarchy are contested between empire and locality provides a particularly fruitful model for thinking through the problems of how Greek ideas of regionality operated in a Roman imperial context: see most recently Alonso (2013) on Egypt and Kantor (2015) on the Greek world.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.

discussion of mythology, the exposition of relevant prose and verse writings, the use of bronze and stone monuments as evidence, and the explanation (and sometimes explaining away) of previous judgements by third parties of which the Roman examples are just the most recent. Indeed, earlier and later iterations of this dispute from *c.*138 BC and AD 78 indicate the high degree of continuity with traditional Greek forms of interstate arbitration which existed under Roman rule.[3] In the second appeal, Segesta argues that Tiberius should help restore the temple of Venus Eryx on the grounds that he is a kinsman of the goddess via Aeneas, thus adapting a typical Greek argument of *syngeneia* to a Roman emperor—a ploy which, Tacitus reports, delighted Tiberius.

The first part of this chapter examines the evidence for the dispute over Mytilene's *peraia* in Aiolis in the mid-first century BC which would have resulted in the Mytilenaians producing arguments of just this sort in order to make their case. The second part then looks at how, in the second half of the first century BC, Mytilene became particularly interested in the Aiolian aspect of its ethnic identity and suggests that this resulted from the mid-century territorial dispute. The third part then explores how the idea of Mytilene as the metropolis of the Aiolians took on a life of its own and continued to play a central role in Mytilene's social imaginary long after the territorial dispute itself had been settled. Finally, the last section considers how these locally produced ideas of regionality interacted with and against the administrative divisions imposed on Lesbos by Rome.

6.2 THE DISPUTE OVER MYTILENE'S *PERAIA* IN AIOLIS

We know about the dispute over Mytilene's *peraia* in the first century BC from three fragmentary documents found at Mytilene: (1) a copy of a *senatus consultum* from 55 BC (*RDGE* 25); (2) a copy of a letter (possibly from the governor of the province) from the late 50s BC (*RDGE* 51); and (3) a treaty with Rome from 25 BC (*RDGE* 26d). The

[3] *Syll.*[3] 683 (*c.*138 BC) and *IG* V (1) 1431 (AD 78) with Ager (1996) 446–50, Cameron (2004) 226–7, and Luraghi (2008) 16–27.

third document is part of a large monument in honour of the benefactor Potamon which reproduced a variety of documents relating to his good works in the service of Mytilene. Both the physical characteristics and the content of the first two documents (*RDGE* 25 and 51) suggest that they belonged to one and the same monument, and it is likely that this was in fact a monument similar to the Potamoneion but in honour of Mytilene's other great benefactor of the first century BC, Theophanes.[4]

Although fragmentary, it is possible to establish the basic content of these documents. The *senatus consultum* from 55 declares that the territory of Mytilene should not be taxed by the *publicani* and also confirms Mytilene's pasturage rights ([προν]ομία) for this territory.[5] The letter from the late 50s then clarifies that a particular parcel of land within the territory of Mytilene should not be taxed and refers back to the *senatus consultum* of 55 and again mentions προνομία. Finally, the treaty with Rome from 25 establishes a defensive alliance between the two states whose terms incidentally establish the extent of Mytilene's territory. These documents clearly bear on a protracted territorial dispute, but the highly fragmentary nature of these texts and the honorific context in which they were republished make it challenging to reconstruct this dispute's history. Nevertheless, it is possible to establish with some confidence where the territory in question was located, which parties were involved, what started the dispute, and how Mytilene ultimately gained the upper hand.

All three inscriptions are frustratingly vague regarding the location of the contested territory. It would be natural to assume that the conflict was between Mytilene and another city of Lesbos. However, while the two texts from the 50s simply refer to ἡ χώρα without further specification, in establishing that Rome and Mytilene will

[4] Sherk (1963) 218–19, Sherk (1969) 270.

[5] Hiller originally restored [αὐτον]ομία in line 5. This is not disproved, but the fact that this document is clearly concerned with a territorial dispute and that προνομία appears unrestored in *RDGE* 51.36 strongly favours Sherk's restoration. Sherk (1963) 223–4 further argued that προνομία should be interpreted as 'right of prior pasturage' and not simply taken as a synonym for ἐπινομία. This interpretation of προ- as indicating priority of access to something is supported by the fact that in the other two honorific inscriptions in which it appears we encounter it alongside the terms προμαντεία (*FD* III (4) 84.4, Delphi, AD 121) and προπραξία (*IG* IX I^2 2:390.6, Stratos, late fifth century BC).

protect one another's territories the alliance treaty of 25 BC gives a revealing definition of Mytilene's territory (*RDGE* 26d.19–27):

[ὅσα - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίω]ν δήμωι Μυτιληναίων ἔδω-
[κεν -] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μυτιληναίων ἔστω
[καὶ ὅσα - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Μυτιλη]ναίων ἐγένοντο ἐν νήσωι
[Λέσβωι καὶ ὅσα - - - - - - - - - - - - πρὸ καλ]ανδῶν Ἰανοαρίων, αἵτινες
[- -, τού]τοις ἐγένοντο εἴτε ταύτηι
[τῆι νήσωι εἴτε ἄλληι - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ς, ὡς ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν
[- -] τε οὗτοι ἐκράτησαν ἔσχον
[- -] οὗτοί τε πάντα ταῦτα ἐχέ-
[τωσαν].

As Louis Robert observed, the decision to specify territory *ἐν νήσωι Λέσβωι* presupposes the existence of Mytilenaian territory which is *not* on Lesbos, i.e. in the *peraia*.[6] All that was needed for the terms of a defensive alliance was for the two parties to say they would protect one another's territory. The definition of Mytilene's territory as being both that which is on Lesbos and that which is on the mainland is therefore tautologous, since *ἡ χώρα* on its own should have been enough to refer to Mytilenaian territory wherever it may have been located. Clearly, therefore, a point is being made that Mytilenaian territory in the less expected of these two places (i.e. the mainland) does indeed belong to Mytilene, and we must imagine that the initiative for choosing this form of words came from the Mytilenaians who thus now had it in writing from the emperor that the *peraia* was theirs.[7]

Within Mytilene's *peraia* in coastal Aiolis the area which consistently produced territorial disputes was the southern border with Pitane. Prior to the period of this dispute in the mid-first century BC, we have evidence for Mytilene possessing territory in coastal Aiolis almost without interruption since at least the fifth century. The inclusion of Nesos Pordosilene among the Aktaian Cities in the Athenian Tribute Lists indicates that Mytilene already possessed a *peraia* here by 427 (Chapter 4.2.1). In the mid-fourth century, Ps-Skylax records that Mytilene's *peraia* stretched from the territory

[6] Robert (1937) 114–15 n. 1.
[7] See already Accame (1946) 111–12, Sherk (1963) 227–8.

of Adramytteion in the north to that of Atarneus in the south.[8] Theopompos adds that at around the same time (during the reign of the tyrant Hermias) Mytilene and Chios were vying for control of Atarneus, a dispute which Mytilene eventually won in 332/1 when Alexander the Great granted the territory to them as a reward for their loyalty.[9] We have no direct evidence for the situation in the third century.[10] However, Livy relates that in 190 Antiochos III destroyed *peraea . . . colonia Mitylenaeorum* because Mytilene had sided with Rome, thus implying continued control during the previous century.[11] In the reign of either Attalos II or III (158–133 BC), the city of Pergamon arbitrated a territorial dispute between Mytilene and Pitane over territory on the southern border of Mytilene's *peraia* (Pitane won).[12] Finally, in the reign of Augustus, Strabo knew of *κῶμαι* in the *peraia* called Koryphantis and Herakleia, perhaps in the vicinity of Nesos Pordosilene.[13]

It is likely that we are dealing with two intersecting disputes about Mytilene's territory. On the one hand, the *senatus consultum* of 55 indicates that Mytilene wanted to prevent the *publicani* from

[8] Ps-Skylax 98.2: *Ἄστυρα, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν <Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ> Ἀδραμύττιον. ἡ δὲ χώρα Λεσβία· καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἡ Χίων χώρα καὶ πόλις Ἀταρνεύς* ('Astyra, where there is the sanctuary <of Artemis, and> Adramytteion. And <after Adramytteion> the territory is Lesbian; and above this is the territory of the Chians and the city of Atarneus'). Since no other Lesbian city controlled land in this region, here (as often) 'Lesbian' means 'Mytilenaian'.

[9] Theopompos of Chios *BNJ* 115 F 291 = Didymos, *On Demosthenes* 5.5–9: *[κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς)] χώρ(ας) ἧς Χῖοι κ(αὶ) Μιτυληνα[ῖοι ἠμφεσβήτουν] καθΐστασαν ἐκε̣ῖν[ο]ν π̣[ροστάτην, πολλὰ] (εἶναι) τ(ῶν) ἀμίσθων στρατ[ε]υμάτ(ων) π̣[αρέλαβε] κ(αὶ) προεπηλάκισε πλείστους Ἰώνων* ('[And the] territory, which the Chians and Mytilena[ians were disputing], after they established him to be [chief and leader] of campaigns they failed to pay for, he seized; and he treated very many of the Ionia [ns] with abuse'). On this difficult passage see Harding (2005) 131–3. Alexander's grant of the territory to Mytilene: Curt. 4.8.13 with Carusi (2003) 70–3.

[10] Stauber (1996) 1:165 and Carusi (2003) 80–3 argue that *IG* XII (2) 74 (late third century BC) is evidence for Mytilene's possessions in the Kaikos valley in this period, but see P. Gauthier, *BE* (2004) no. 231, p. 633: *ἐπὶ Καΐκω* is not 'nei pressi di fiume Kaikos' (we would expect *ἐπὶ τῶ Καΐκω* in that case), but 'in the prytany of Kaikos' (*ἐπὶ <προτάνιος> Καΐκω*).

[11] Liv. 37.21.4–6.

[12] Ager (1996) no. 146 (same text as *IG* XII Suppl. 142, but doesn't omit lines 13–23 and 30–45). To Ager's text add two overlooked emendations: in line 4 *[περὶ τῶν συ]νεστηκότων* (Holleaux, *Études* 5:150 n. 2); in line 21 *τά τε τῆς συγγενεί[ας δίκαια]* (Robert [1987] 86 n. 207). H. Müller will publish two new fragments relating to lines 63–74 and 94–107: Carusi (2003) 74 n. 91. For a drawing of the fragments' arrangement see *AvP* VIII.1:142–3.

[13] Strabo 13.1.49, 51.

continuing to tax the city's territory as a whole—evidently, Pompey had declared the city *libera* but not also *immunis* in 62. On the other hand, the letter of the late 50s refers to a parcel of territory [πλέ]θρων δισχιλίω[ν] in size (2,000 *plethra* = 50 ha) which must be referring to just one disputed part of Mytilene's vast *chora*.[14] This therefore sounds more like a local dispute with a neighbouring polis. The fact that both documents refer to pasturage rights (προνομία), an issue which was presumably of more concern to neighbouring poleis than to *publicani*, further strengthens the case for there being a local element to this territorial dispute. These two types of territorial dispute potentially intersect, since *publicani* often sought to exploit the contested nature of a territory as a way to justify collecting tax on it.

The catalyst for this three-way dispute between Mytilene, Pitane, and the *publicani* was probably the abandonment of Atarneus. As we have seen, Mytilene had coveted this territory since at least the fourth century, and in the mid-second century its dispute with Pitane had been over land very close to the *chora* of Atarneus.[15] Recent excavations have now shown that Atarneus was abandoned in the first century BC, most likely in the aftermath of fighting in the Mithridatic Wars.[16] With the disappearance of Atarneus as a political community, the stage was set for an intractable land dispute. The territory primarily consists of rich alluvial deposits and is therefore highly desirable land. However, as a result of this the terrain is also relatively featureless, making the marking of territorial boundaries especially hard. At various points in the previous five centuries

[14] *Pace* Carusi (2003) 83–5. Rough estimates put the size of Mytilene's *chora* on Lesbos following the absorption of Pyrrha (third century BC?) at *c.*700–750 km^2 (*IACP* nos. 798–9). The size of the disputed territory is specified at *RDGE* 51.27–8.

[15] The Astyra which Paus. 4.35.10 locates in the territory of Atarneus is also mentioned in the arbitration in reference to τὰ ὅρ[ια τὰ] πρὸς Ἀταρνίτας: Ager (1996) no. 146.115–17.

[16] Atarneus had been abandoned by the reign of Augustus (Plin. *HN* 5.122, drawing on Agrippa's *conventus* lists) due in part to its harbour silting up (Paus. 7.2.11). *The Customs Law of Asia* §9 lists its port as active, which probably reflects the situation in the 120s BC: Cottier et al. (2008) 8–10. Excavations: *ArchAnz* (2007) 2:45–7, (2008) 2:122–30, (2009) 2:174–82, (2010) 2:168–82, (2011) 2:150–8, (2012) 2:209–11. The site has now been systematically sherded, yielding a first-century BC date for its abandonment, *pace* Stauber (1996) 1:266–7 who suggested an early or mid-Hellenistic date. The Mithridatic Wars is a working hypothesis (*ArchAnz* [2010] 2:181–2), but further work will be able to pin the date down to a particular decade (*ArchAnz* [2011] 2:152).

all or parts of the territory had belonged to Mytilene, Chios, Pitane, or various Hellenistic kings, and the ways in which these parties had come by this land were often open to challenge. In addition, the principal disputants, Mytilene and Pitane, had both sided with Mithridates during the Mithridatic Wars and sheltered him from avenging Roman generals even when his star was on the wane.[17] Mytilene in particular had been staunchly anti-Roman: in 88 the fleeing M'. Aquillius (*cos.* 101) took refuge at Mytilene only to be handed over to Mithridates and executed at Pergamon by having molten gold poured down his throat, while in 84 Lucullus began a siege of Mytilene which dragged on for four years, making it the last city in Asia to surrender to Rome.[18] These indiscretions could of course be used against both Mytilene and Pitane by the *publicani* or by the Roman authorities adjudicating the dispute.

There is also a broader, Roman context to why this territorial dispute flared up at this particular juncture. Following its capture in 80, Mytilene had become a *civitas stipendiaria*. If the *publicani* had not already had the right to tax Mytilene's territory, they were certainly able to do so from this point onwards.[19] In 62, Theophanes of Mytilene—client and confidant of Pompey, historian of his campaigns in the East, and at his side in Rome 59–49—interceded with

[17] Sheltering Mithridates from Fimbria in 84: Plut. *Luc.* 3, App. *Mith.* 52.

[18] Testimonia on the death of M'. Aquillius are collected in *MRR* 2:43 s.v. M'. Aquillius (*cos.* 101). The siege of Mytilene is described in Plut. *Luc.* 4.2–3, Liv. *Per.* 89.14, Suet. *Div. Iul.* 2. For confusion as to whether Lucullus or M. Minucius Thermus completed the siege see Magie (1950) 2:1124–5. A further piece of evidence is the honorific statue for Adobogiona (*OGIS* 348) whose interpretation is ambiguous for two reasons: (1) Adobogiona was the sister of the Trokmian dynast Brogitaros, wife of the wealthy Pergamene citizen Menodotos, and mistress of Mithridates (Strabo 13.4.3). This gives the impression that whichever city honoured her was pro-Mithridatic. However, it is clear from the mentions of her son Mithridates of Pergamon in the *Pro Flacco* (§§17, 41; 59 BC) that he had already become a prominent individual in Pergamene politics who could function under Roman rule. The political valence of praising his mother thus depends on the inscription's date which is no more precise than her presumed *floruit* (*c.*80–50); (2) we cannot even be sure which city put this inscription up. Paton (*IG* XII (2) 516) gave it to Methymna, but the the text was found built into the church of Ag. Stephanos on the eastern coast of Lesbos, and so could be a *pierre errante* from either Methymna or Mytilene (Conze [1865] 19, Newton [1865] 1:109). For a comparable case of a *pierre errante* making its way from the Apollo Smintheus sanctuary in the Troad to a church in Methymna see Robert, *OMS* 2:1098–9.

[19] Cic. *De Leg. Agr.* 2.16 (63 BC).

his patron to have the city declared a *civitas libera*.[20] Robert Sherk assumed that this status automatically conferred tax immunity on Mytilene and therefore argued that the reason the Mytilenaians needed to secure a *senatus consultum* declaring their territory tax exempt in 55 (a status which, on his view, they should already have possessed for seven years by now) was because the *publicani* were ignoring such legal niceties in order to claw back the massive losses they had incurred 61–59 when they overbid on the Asian tax contract.[21] However, the first time tax immunity is mentioned is in the *senatus consultum* of 55, and, as A. H. M. Jones pointed out, the comparanda suggest that the statuses of freedom and tax immunity were commonly dissociated under Roman rule, and as a result it is dangerous to assume the conferral of immunity when this is not explicitly stated.[22] This suggests a new narrative: Mytilene became a *civitas libera* in 62, suffered from the excessive exactions of the *publicani* in the fallout from 61–59, and so when Pompey became consul in 55 seized on this opportunity to secure tax immunity, no doubt through the good offices of Theophanes who was with Pompey at Rome during this period.

The letter from the late 50s which is possibly from the provincial governor indicates that Mytilene continued to experience difficulties with the tax status of its territory even after securing the *senatus consultum*. Several factors may have contributed to this. For example, it is possible that the governor was simply unaware of the *senatus consultum* of 55, and the *publicani* were therefore able to use this to their advantage until the Mytilenaians brought the document to his attention.[23] Equally, even after the Mytilenaians had produced the *senatus consultum* they would still need to persuade the governor that the off-island *peraia* was a territory integral to the city's *chora* (a point

[20] Plut. *Pomp.* 42.4, Vell. Pat. 2.18.3. Anastasiadis (1995) makes an unconvincing case for Theophanes' lack of influence in Pompey's grant of freedom to Mytilene. See correctly Labarre (1996b), not refuted by the intemperate remarks of Anastasiadis (1997). Theophanes was *prytanis* at Mytilene before 67 and so already a prominent citizen: *SEG* 42.755. For his role as historian of Pompey's campaigns in 67–62 see the surviving fragments in Theophanes *BNJ* 188 and for his influence at Rome Yarrow (2006) 54–67. His role as *praefectus fabrum* to Pompey's forces in the war with Caesar will have taken him away from Rome in 49 (Theophanes *BNJ* 188 T 8c = Plut. *Caes.* 38.4).

[21] Sherk (1963) 229–30, (1969) 144. [22] Jones (1939).

[23] Compare the case of M. Scaptius producing a *senatus consultum* from 56 unknown to Cicero, then governor of Cilicia, in order to negate his ruling on a debt repayment of Cypriot Salamis: Cic. *Att.* 5.21.11–12 (20 February 50), 6.2.7 (late April 50).

which the Mytilenaians hammered home in the defensive alliance with Rome of 25 BC) and thus covered by the terms of the *senatus consultum*, a claim which the *publicani* and neighbouring cities such as Pitane may well have contested.

This territorial dispute will have had a profound impact on the shape of Mytilenaian elite politics at the advent of the Imperial era. A document such as the *senatus consultum* of 55 came about through the efforts of embassies of leading citizens and through the personal appeals of prominent Mytilenaians such as Pompey's close associate Theophanes. The role which Theophanes had played in convincing Pompey to restore Mytilene to free status in 62 had already earned him extraordinary honours from his city, and following his death he received the remarkable honour of being offered cult as Theophanes Zeus Eleutherios to celebrate his part in making the city a *civitas libera*.[24] His descendants enjoyed illustrious careers in Roman service, at least for a while. Theophanes' son, the equestrian M. Pompeius, was appointed procurator of Asia by Augustus and in Strabo's day was considered a close friend of Tiberius. Theophanes' grandson, Q. Pompeius Macer, was praetor in AD 15 (an extraordinary achievement for a Greek at so early a date in the principate) and was a sufficiently close associate of Tiberius to ask the emperor his notorious question about *maiestas*. Befitting the high status of her brother and father, Theophanes' granddaughter, Pompeia Macrina, was married into the most important family in the province of Achaia, the Euryclids of Sparta. She and her male relatives were sufficiently wealthy and politically visible to fall foul of the spate of *maiestas* trials late in Tiberius' reign (AD 33).[25] Even after this setback, a descendant of the family, M. Pompeius Macrinus, dubbed 'The New Theophanes', was a governor of Cilicia in AD 113 and suffect consul in 115.[26]

The treaty between Mytilene and Rome of 25 BC which reaffirmed Mytilene's ownership of the *peraia* was most likely brokered by,

[24] For lifetime honorific statues of Theophanes see *IG* XII (2) 150 and Robert, *OMS* 5:571–2 and for a posthumous honorific statue of the divinized Theophanes see *IG* XII (2) 163b. Note too the very fragmentary *Συμπλ.* 7, perhaps an honorific decree for Theophanes. On the broader context of citizens being divinized in the late Hellenistic period see Robert, *OMS* 5:561–83, Price (1984) 47–52, Gauthier (1985) 60–3, and Buraselis (2001) 65–6.

[25] Syme (1982) 79–80, Buraselis (2001) 61–7.

[26] *SEG* 29.741 (Mytilene, after AD 138). See Hodot (1979) and Buraselis (2001) 67–70. For the interpretation of '*neos*' titles see Heller (2011) 309–10.

among others, Potamon son of Lesbonax, another Mytilenaian aristocrat who rose to prominence through the embassies to Caesar and Augustus he participated in and the patronage relationships he developed with leading Romans.[27] He was made the first high-priest of the Imperial cult at Mytilene and his wife priestess of Etephila and herald of the mysteries, offices which they passed down to their son and daughter respectively and which appear to have stayed in the family for another two centuries.[28] Potamon's most distinctive honour was the Potamoneion, an enormous monument in Mytilene dating to the reign of Augustus or Tiberius on which were published all the letters, *senatus consulta*, and treaties which were the fruit of Potamon's efforts on Mytilene's behalf, as well as the honorific decrees which Mytilene and others had voted for him in thanks.[29] Finally, there is the case of the Mytilenaian poet and statesman Krinagoras son of Kallippos who participated in embassies to Caesar in 48/7 and 45 and in the embassy to Augustus in 26/5 which resulted in the defensive alliance between Mytilene and Rome.[30] His fifty-one surviving epigrams attest close connections with all the most important members of the imperial household, and as Gow and Page conclude, 'He must have been recognized more or less as *par inter primos*, the accredited representative of an illustrious city overseas, acceptable in the highest society of Rome.'[31] While we have no direct evidence for his status or that of his family back at Mytilene, we may reasonably assume on the basis of his diplomatic activities and relationship with the imperial household that both he and his relatives and descendants enjoyed a high profile in Mytilenaian politics.

As the cases of Theophanes and Potamon in particular illustrate, protracted diplomatic disputes like that over Mytilene's *peraia* in the mid-first century BC were the making of certain elite Mytilenaian families. More generally, the particular historical circumstances in which Mytilene's control of the *peraia* was challenged meant that this

[27] Potamon of Mytilene *FGrHist* IV 1085. [28] Robert, *OMS* 2:740–5.

[29] *IG* XII (2) 23–57, Suppl. 6–12, 112, *Συμπλ.* 6–15, 26, 69, *SEG* 27.491 + 32.819, inv. Mytilene Museum 3851 (unpub.). For discussion of this document as a whole see most recently Rowe (2002) 139–42 and for other monuments of this kind see the examples listed by A. Chaniotis in *SEG* 58.855–9, p. 270.

[30] For the biography of Krinagoras see Bowersock (1965) 36–7 and Gow and Page (1968) 2:210–13. The poems have recently been re-edited by Ypsilanti (2018).

[31] Gow and Page (1968) 2:212; cf. most recently Bowie (2011) 186–95 and Whitmarsh (2011).

territory was not just valued as a desirable economic resource and a source of wealth for the city's elites, but also as being symbolic of the city's success in regaining its freedom and autonomy through the fostering of close relations with Rome. As we shall see in the next section, this pivot towards Aiolis in the sphere of diplomacy appears to have had a broader impact on how Mytilene and its ruling elites started to conceptualize their regional identity during the Julio-Claudian period.

6.3 AIOLIAN AND LESBIAN IDENTITIES

Greek cities often subscribed to multiple mythological explanations of their origins, allowing them to promote certain versions or quietly ignore others as and when it became advantageous to do so. Thus, although it was always an option for Mytilene (and indeed the other Lesbian cities) to link themselves to mainland Aiolis by emphasizing their Aiolian ethnicity, for much of its history Mytilene made relatively little of this connection. It is therefore significant that Mytilene chose to emphasize this aspect of its identity in the Julio-Claudian period following several decades of bitter disputes with its neighbours in Aiolis over its territory on the mainland.

6.3.1 Lesbos and Aiolian Kinship before the First Century BC

The Aiolian aspect of Lesbian identity is first attested in Alkaios, who in the late seventh or early sixth century referred to the cult of *Θέος Αἰολήια* being worshipped by the Lesbians at Messon.[32] However, in the Classical and Hellenistic periods their Aiolian identity was as often mobilized to forge links with Boiotia or Ionia as it was with the cities of the Troad and Aiolis. For example, Thucydides relates that during the Peloponnesian War the Lesbians repeatedly framed their diplomatic interactions with Boiotia in terms of kinship.[33] In the

[32] In addition to *θέος Αἰολήια* (fr. 129.6 L-P), there are several fleeting (fr. 38.5–6 L-P) or fragmentary (fr. 7.6 L-P) references to the hero Aiolos.

[33] (1) Thuc. 3.2.3 (help from *Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν* before the revolt). The report derives from informants from the Aiolian cities of Tenedos, Methymna, and Mytilene. (2) Thuc. 7.57.5 (Methymnaians in Sicily fighting against their founders the

Hellenistic period, in addition to *syngeneia* relationships with Lampsakos in the Troad and with Pergamon, Pitane, and Aigai in Aiolis, the Lesbians also enjoyed *syngeneia* with Ionian cities such as Miletos, Erythrai, and Samos, as well as *oikeiotes* with Thessaly.[34] When we look at the myths on which several of these connections appear to be based, the clear implication is that the Lesbian cities will have had many more kinship relationships with either Aiolians back in Greece or non-Aiolians than those which happen to be attested in the surviving documents.[35] The way in which Lesbian cities forged *syngeneia* links as easily with non-Aiolians as with Aiolians in Asia Minor is reflected in the institutions of Methymna, where we encounter both a *phyle* of Aiolis in the mid-Hellenistic period as well as a *χελληστύς* (Lesb. for *χιλιαστύς*) of the Erythraians in the first century AD.[36] At Erythrai, this mythological kinship was reciprocated, for example in an epigram of the Imperial period which refers to the city's territory as the land of Makar, while at Pergamon we likewise encounter *phylai* of Aiolis and Makaris.[37]

Boiotians). On Classen-Steup's deletion of <*τοῖς κτίσασι*> see Hornblower (1991–2008) 1:384 (open-minded) and 3:663–4, 1042 (rejects). (3) Thuc. 8.100.3 (Methymnaian exiles at Kyme choose a Theban commander *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*). Surely the explanation, too, of Thuc. 3.5.2 (Theban general Hermaiondas comes to aid the Lesbians during the revolt): Hornblower (1991–2008) 1:387. For Methymna and Thebes, note also Paus. 9.30.2 (statue of Arion and the dolphin at Thebes). On all these passages see the summary discussion of Hornblower (1991–2008) 2:73–4 and Fragoulaki (2013) 100–39.

34 Curty (1995) no. 22 (Pergamon and Mytilene), 38 (Lampsakos and an unknown Aiolian city, probably Methymna or Eresos: Robert, *OMS* 1:78 n. 1), 40 (Pergamon, Pitane, and Mytilene), 42 (Erythrai and Mytilene), 60 (Miletos and an unknown Aiolian city, probably Eresos: Robert, *OMS* 1:9), 61 (Miletos, Methymna, and Eresos), *IG* XII Suppl. 3 (Thessalian koinon and Mytilene; further material in Parker [2011] 117–18).

35 Myrina the Amazon: Dionysios Scytobrachion *BNJ* 32 F 7 with Curty (1995) 84–5. The myth also mentions Kyme in Aiolis (depicted on *RPC* 1.2433, AD *c*.54–9), Priene in Ionia, and Samothrace. An earlier version of the myth known to Aristotle (fr. 611.66 Rose) claimed that all the cities between Mykale and Pitane were Amazonian foundations. The missing top section of *IG* XII Suppl. 141, an honorific decree for Prienian judges probably from Eresos (Robert, *OMS* 1:9), could have included a reference to *syngeneia*. Makar: Diod. 5.81 with Curty (1995) 88, 150–1. Also mentioned are Kos (where *Μακαρεύς* is a very popular name: *LGPN* I s.v. nos. 2–14, of which 2–13 are Hellenistic) and Rhodes. Again, note the fragmentary *IG* XII Suppl. 120, the treaty between Rhodes and the cities of Lesbos, in which a reference to *syngeneia* could quite easily have occurred.

36 *IG* XII (2) 505.2–3 (*τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Αἰολίδος*, third or second century BC), 515.1 (*ἀ χέλληστυς ἀ Ἐρυθραίων*, first century AD?).

37 Erythrai: *ἡ διασημοτάτη Ἐρύθρου πόλις, ἡ Μακάρων γῆ Κεκροπίς* (*I. Erythrai und Klazomenai* 106.3–5); cf. *LGPN* VA s.v. *Μακαρεός* (coins of Erythrai, *c*.370–360 BC).

Although Lesbos was in close proximity to Aiolis and had an obvious mythological connection to the cities in this region, it is clear that in general the Lesbian cities viewed the Aiolians of Asia Minor as being just one of several ethnic groups with whom they could forge a kinship bond.[38] This is reflected in the striking lack of collaboration between the Lesbian and Aiolian cities in the spheres of regional politics and religion. For example, the cities of Lesbos and Aiolis did not join one another's koina, whereas by contrast Chios and Samos were members of the Ionian koinon. Likewise, throughout the Hellenistic period we have numerous documents in which citizens are identified as '*Αἰολεὺς ἀπό* + city name' or 'city name + *ἐξ Αἰολίδος*'. These include not only cities in Aiolis 'proper' (e.g. Myrina, Kyme, Pitane, Elaia),[39] but also cities from the Troad which had either long since ceased using the Aiolic dialect in their public epigraphy (Assos) or had never done so in the first place (Alexandreia Troas).[40] By contrast, the citizens of Lesbian cities are never referred to in this way (Chapter 5.2.2).

Indeed, on closer inspection the one alleged instance of political co-operation between Lesbians and Aiolians before the Imperial period in fact provides further proof of the complete lack of such co-operation. Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer argued that a series of silver

Pergamon: W. Kolbe, *AthMitt* 32 (1907) 468–9, Robert (1973) 483–4 n. 20, Robert *OMS* 7:576–7, Jones (1987) 353–5.

[38] It is also striking that no Aiolian cities are attested in the (admittedly very fragmentary) Eresian proxeny list (*IG* XII Suppl. 127, *c.*230–200 BC). The new reconstruction of the text now excludes Robert's restoration of Ἄ̣[σσιοι]: Robert (1966) 115–21 with Mack (2012) 218.

[39] Myrina: *IG* VII 3195.18–21 (Orchomenos, early first century BC), *IG* XII (9) 91.10–13 (Tamynai on Euboia, early first century BC), *I. Thesp.* 172.26–7 (Thespiai, after 84 BC), *I. Oropos* 524.14–15, 528.44–5 (Oropos, *c.*80–50 BC), *IGUR* III 1354 (Rome, undated). Kyme: *I. Thesp.* 186.33–4 (Thespiai, second or first BC), *IG* VII 3196.15–17, 3197.16–18 (Orchomenos, early first century BC), *SEG* 25.501 line 10 (Tanagra, *c.*85 BC), *I. Oropos* 521.17–18 (Oropos, *c.*85 BC), 522.16–17 (*c.*80–50 BC). Pitane: *FD* III (1) 410.2–4 (Delphi, *c.*319 BC). Elaia: *SEG* 18.595 (Cyprus, early third century BC).

[40] On *Αἰολεύς* as an ethnic in the Troad see Robert (1951) 96–7, Robert (1966) 60, and Jones (2010) 33–9. On the use of koine in public epigraphy and the occasional use of Aiolic in private monuments at Alexandreia Troas and Assos see Hodot (2006) 157–8. Alexandreia Troas: *CID* IV 63.5–6 (Delphi, *c.*245–241 BC?), *FD* III (1) 275.1 (Delphi, undated), *SEG* 35.594 lines 21–2 (Larisa in Thessaly, *c.*200–150 BC), *IG* XII (4) 454B.187, 191 (Kos, 182/1), *SEG* 11.1054 line 2 (Tegea, *c.*165 BC), *SEG* 56.638 lines 13, 22, 35 (Larisa in Thessaly, *c.*160–150 BC). Assos: *Syll.*^{3} 585.314–15 (Delphi, *c.*197–175 BC); the same individual is restored in *SEG* 37.405 (*c.*150 BC).

and bronze coins which bore the legends *ΑΙΟΛΕ* and *ΝΑΣΙ* and which he dated to *c.*330–300 BC were a federal coinage minted at Mytilene and Methymna.[41] If this were correct, it would be definitive proof of Lesbian cities choosing to represent themselves as Aiolians in the late Classical period. Although it subsequently became apparent that the *ΝΑΣΙ* coins belonged to Nesos Pordosilene, Imhoof-Blumer's hypothesis about the *ΑΙΟΛΕ* coins remained popular.[42] The silver coins of this series (Figure 6.1.a) bear a head of Athena facing right wearing a Corinthian helmet as the obverse type. Imhoof-Blumer compared the style to that of the head of Athena on Alexander's gold staters (minted 333 and after) to arrive at his *c.*330 *terminus post quem*.[43] The bronze coins (Figure 6.1.b) instead have a female head facing right wearing a diadem, earrings, and a necklace. The reverse type for both the silver and bronze coins is a lightning bolt with *ΑΙΟΛΕ* above and a control mark below—either a bunch of grapes or a caduceus (the silver coins add the letter 'A' to the caduceus).

Although William Wroth expressed doubts early on, the weakness of Imhoof-Blumer's case was only definitively demonstrated by Louis Robert in 1951.[44] In particular, Robert emphasized that all the known proveniences indicated an origin in the Troad, not Lesbos, with a concentration of finds at Assos.[45] Subsequently, Lorenzo Lazzarini has drawn attention to a bronze coin of Assos with the same types as the bronze *ΑΙΟΛΕ* coinage (Figure 6.1.c).[46] To this we can add that a lightning bolt appears as a prominent control mark on an issue of silver coinage from Assos which is dated to the 340s or soon after (Figure 6.1.d) and was minted with the same weight standard and

[41] Imhoof-Blumer (1876) 312–21.

[42] It was realized that the *ΝΑΣΙ* coins belonged instead to Nesos Pordosilene after the publication of the Thersippos decree (*I. Adramytteion* 34) by G. Earinos, *Μουσεῖον και Βιβλιοθήκη της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής* 2.1 (1875–6) 128–34.

[43] Imhoof-Blumer (1876) 318–19.

[44] *BMC Lesbos* lxviii, Robert (1951) 92–100.

[45] Robert (1951) 95–6, (1962) 381, (1966) 95–7, 213, cf. Delrieux (2011) nos. 244–5 for two of these coins in Robert's own collection. Cook (1973) 247–50 summarizes the known proveniences: Assos x11 (see *Boston MFA* 84.739–45 for examples found in the 1884 excavations), Kebren x2, Ilion x1, Ezine x1 (main market for coins from the Troad along with Bayramiç), Balıkesir x2 (main market for coins from the Troad, Mysia, and Aiolis). Robert emphasizes that in the case of the coins from both Ezine and Balıkesir they were sold as lots with other coins from the region (perhaps reflecting find context). An example of the bronze coinage has now been found at Maroneia: Psoma et al. (2008) 112, M339.

[46] Lazzarini (1983) 11–15.

Figure 6.1. (a) Silver hemidrachm on the Persic standard, koinon of the Aioleis, *c.*340–320 BC. *GM* 216 (15 October 2013) 2491. (b) Small bronze coin, koinon of the Aioleis, *c.*340–320 BC. *BNF Fonds Général* 40.3. (c) Small bronze coin, Assos, *c.*340–320 BC. Forrer (1922–9) 3.2, Plate 193, no. 5331. (d) Silver hemidrachm on the Persic standard, Assos, *c.*340–330 BC. ANS 1944.100.43780.

denomination as the *ΑΙΟΛΕ* coinage (i.e. as a Persic hemidrachm).[47] Whereas Robert thought these coins belonged to an otherwise unknown city of Aioleion, Robert Cook rather more plausibly suggested that these coins were produced by a short-lived koinon of communities in the southern Troad which was centred on Assos.[48] The weight standard, denominations, and round incuse technique on the reverse of the silver coinage all permit a date as early as the beginning of the 340s for the production of these coinages and thus for the foundation of this koinon.[49] Alternatively, we could accept Imhoof-Blumer's stylistic argument and place these coins (and thus the koinon) in the immediate aftermath of Alexander's conquest of the region *c.*334–332. In either case, the organization was presumably dissolved when a number of the Troad's cities were synoikized into Antigoneia Troas late in the last decade of the fourth century.[50] As we saw in Chapter 5.3.3, it was in precisely this period that the cities of Lesbos, so far from participating in this koinon of the Aiolians, were instead constructing a monumental temple at their own koinon sanctuary of Messon. The Lesbian cities therefore had the opportunity to join a regional association which self-identified as Aiolian, but instead preferred to commit substantial resources to glorifying their own exclusively Lesbian regional association.[51]

6.3.2 Mytilene's Aiolian Identity in the Julio-Claudian Period

Whereas before the first century BC Mytilene had made relatively little effort to exploit its connection with Aiolis, from the reign of Augustus (if not slightly earlier) its elites began to actively promote the idea that Mytilene was the metropolis of the Aiolians. This far more

[47] I know of two examples: *ANS* 1944.100.43780, *Pecunem* 44 (7 August 2016) 238.

[48] Robert (1951) 98–9, Cook (1973) 248–9.

[49] Ellis-Evans (2018) 42–9 sets out the arguments for Persic weight hemidrachms with round incuse reverses being a phenomenon of the early 340s and afterwards in the Troad.

[50] Delrieux (2011) 82 gives 'III^{e}–II^{e} siècle av. J.-C.', but I am not sure on what grounds, and it seems more probable that the koinon of the Aiolians and the koinon of Athena Ilias existed sequentially rather than in tandem.

[51] *HP* 3.8.5 (discussing ἡ δρῦς ἁλίφλοιος = *Q. cerris* var. *haliphloeos* = 'Turkey Oak') is a suggestive passage for attesting a Lesbian perceiving a significant cultural distinction between Lesbians and Aiolians in terms of religious ritual. For identification and discussion of the oak in question see Amigues (1988–2006) 2:147 n. 16.

enthusiastic attitude towards the Aiolian aspect of Mytilenaian identity is demonstrated by an inscription which Hiller von Gaertringen published in 1936.[52] It is a decree from the Potamoneion belonging to the top course of the monument and which was originally voted for Potamon by [*τὸ κοῖνον τὸ Λ*]*εσβίων*. Of particular interest is how the honorand is described: [*Ποτάμωνα Λεσβώνακτος*] *τὸν ἀπύγονον Πενθίλω τῶ* [*β*]*ασίλεος* [*Αἰολέων, τὸν θέων πά*]*ντων τε καὶ παίσαν λάβοντα κατὰ* [— — — — *ταὶς ἰρω*]*σύναις τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς Λέσβω* ('[The koinon of the L]esbians (honours) [Potamon son of Lesbonax], descendant of Penthilos king of [the Aiolians], who was elected to priesthoods of all [the gods] and goddesses of both the city (i.e. Mytilene) and of Lesbos on account of his [family descent]').[53] The *lacuna* after *κατά* is most plausibly supplemented as *κατὰ* [*τὸ γένος αὐτῶ*] (Hiller) or simply *κατὰ* [*γένος*] (Robert) and should be taken as referring back to Potamon being *ὁ ἀπύγονος Πενθίλω*.[54]

The significance of this genealogical claim becomes clearer once we place it in the broader context of myths about the Aiolian migration.[55] Inevitably, these myths form a complex and often contradictory mass of stories. However, as we have already seen in the case of the competing foundation myths of the cities of Lesbos (Chapter 5.3.4), the key point which cities wanted to establish was that they had been founded earlier than their rivals, since this was considered a strong argument for one's claims (territorial or otherwise) in interstate diplomacy. The dispute between Athens and Mytilene over Sigeion in the sixth century provides a clear example. Even though it was Mytilene which had founded Sigeion, the Corinthian tyrant Periander judged that Athens had the better claim to the territory on which Sigeion stood, since Athens had participated in the Trojan War and thus conquered this land before Mytilene had

52 Hiller von Gaertringen (1936) 121–2.

53 *IG* XII Suppl. 7 (r. Augustus or Tiberius).

54 See Hiller von Gaertringen (1936) 121–2 and Robert, *OMS* 2:824 n. 2, who rejects Hiller's later suggestion in *IG* XII Suppl. (1939) of *κατὰ* [*πρεσβείαν*]. In the same way, a distant descendant of Potamon in the second or third century AD is described as *τὰν ἀπύγονον Ποτάμωνος τῶ νομοθέτα καὶ Λεσβώνακτος τῶ φιλοσόφω* (*IG* XII (2) 255.5–6). For aristocratic families furnishing themselves with mythological genealogies in the early Imperial period see Quaß (1993) 68–70.

55 Much of the relevant material is collected in Fowler (2000–13) 2:153–94 (Aiolidai), 514–17 (local histories of Lesbos), 597–602 (Aiolian migration). See too the useful discussion in Hornblower (2015) 474–6.

even been founded in the Aiolian migration.[56] Six centuries later, the Messenians successfully made an argument similar to that of the Athenians before Tiberius and the Senate in AD 25 regarding the disputed temple of Artemis Limnatis in the Denthaliatis. Whereas the Spartans focused on establishing that their ancestors had dedicated the temple, the Messenians trumped this by arguing that the territory on which the temple stood had been allotted to their mythical ancestor, King Kresphontes, when the Heraklids returned to the Peloponnese.[57]

In the same way, we encounter a variety of traditions about the Aiolian migration which range from those placing the foundation of Lesbos last in the sequence (and thus *after* the founding of cities in Aiolis) to those placing the foundation of Lesbos first and as a result making it the metropolis of the cities of Aiolis.[58] When Potamon calls Penthilos both 'king of the Aiolians' and his ancestor, it is pretty clear that he is imagining a tradition in which Lesbos was founded first and then colonized Aiolis. In the context of the first century BC when, as we have seen, Mytilene's possession of land in Aiolis was being contested by Aiolian cities, there was a clear advantage to being able to claim that Lesbos was the metropolis of Aiolis and that Mytilene's leading citizen, a man with access to the likes of Caesar and Augustus, just so happened to be the descendant of the mythical Lesbian king of the Aiolians.

We next have evidence for Mytilene's Aiolian identity claims in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. In the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, dedications found at Mytilene and in the city's extramural sanctuary of Artemis Thermia assimilate Agrippina the Elder (14 BC–AD 33) and later her daughter Agrippina the Younger (AD 15–59) to *Θέα Αἴολις Καρπόφορος* ('The harvest-bearing Aiolian goddess').[59] The dedications for Agrippina the Elder are thought to have been prompted by the birth of Julia Livilla in AD 18 while Agrippina and her husband Germanicus were residing at Mytilene, and this later provided a precedent for the worship of her daughter Agrippina the Younger as Thea Aiolis Karpophoros.[60] The epithet *καρπόφορος* is of course highly appropriate for a mother who had given birth to nine children, six of whom survived childhood, Livilla being the sixth. Indeed, coinage of Apamea Cibotus from the reign of Caligula celebrates her as mother of three adult daughters, while coinage of Samos

[56] Hdt. 5.94–5. [57] Tac. *Ann* 4.43.1–3.
[58] Fowler (2000–13) 2:597–602. [59] See Hahn (1994) 132–8 and 186–92.
[60] Julia Livilla: *PIR*² 674, esp. Tac. *Ann.* 2.54.

and Caesarea in Cappadocia from the reign of Nero refer to her daughter Agrippina the Younger as being θεομήτωρ and *mater Augusti* respectively.[61] The epithet καρπόφορος equally brings to mind Demeter Karpophoros whose cult is encountered throughout the Greek East and in particular in Asia Minor. From Mytilene itself we have an inscribed altar, dated on palaeographical grounds to the first century AD, which reads [Διὸς κ]αὶ Δήμη|[τρος] καρπο|φόρων καὶ Ὡρῶν | πολυκάρπων καὶ | τελεσφόρων ('(altar of) harvest-bearing Zeus and Demeter and of the abundant and fruitful Seasons').[62] In the reign of Caligula, provincial coinage depicting the emperor's parents on several occasions portrayed Agrippina with attributes of Demeter (e.g. ears of corn, a cornucopia).[63] This imagery is occasionally picked up again for Agrippina the Younger on coins, and at Kos she was explicitly assimilated to Demeter Karpophoros.[64]

It would therefore seem that Mytilene, like many other cities in western Asia Minor, was straightforwardly assimilating Agrippina the Elder to a familiar cult of Demeter.[65] However, there are several problems with this interpretation. Firstly, it is notable that the coinage which Mytilene produces in the reign of Caligula drops καρπόφορος from the titulature of the goddess.[66] This choice will have been made for reasons of space, but it is surely revealing that, when pressed, the Mytilenaians thought Αἴολις was the more important aspect to stress.[67] Indeed, it is worth noting that neither of the Agrippinas

[61] *RPC* 1.2012, 2015 (Apamea Cibotus), 2686 (Samos), 3632–3, 3637–8, 3640–2 (Caesarea). On the Agrippinas as preservers of the Julio-Claudian bloodline see Ginsburg (2006) 76–9.

[62] The text in Kalliontzis (2000–3) 255–7 supersedes *IG* XII Suppl. 691 which erroneously gives the text as [— — κ]αὶ Δήμη[τρος καὶ θεῶν] καρποφόρων καὶ θεῶν πολυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων.

[63] *RPC* 1.2454 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2741–2 (Kos), 3032 (Philadelphia-Neocaesarea).

[64] Reign of Claudius (AD 41–54): *RPC* 1.3102–3 (Aezani, but see *RPC* 1, p. 499 for doubts about dating), 4859 (Caesarea Maritima), 4973 (Agrippina the Elder in Judaea, AD 37/8), 5188, 5192, 5194, 5196, 5199 (Alexandria). Reign of Nero (AD 54–9): *RPC* 1.2457 (Magnesia ad Sipylum—Agrippina the Younger's attributes same as from r. Caligula), 3172–3 (Acmonea, AD *c.*55), 4845 (Caesarea Philippi-Paneas, but see *RPC* 1, p. 670 for doubts about the attribution), 4860 (Caesarea Maritima, AD *c.*55—type inherited from r. Claudius). Agrippina the Younger as Demeter Karpophoros on Kos: *IG* XII (4,2) 643 (AD 49/50).

[65] See (e.g.) Ginsburg (2006) 99–103.

[66] *RPC* 1.2347: *Obv.* *ΘΕΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ*, *ΜΥΤΙ*; bare head of Germanicus r. *Rev.* *ΘΕΑΝ ΑΙΟΛΙΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ*, *ΜΥΤΙ*; draped bust of Agrippina the Elder l.

[67] Robert, *OMS* 2:804.

are depicted with attributes of Demeter on the coinage of Mytilene. This comparatively greater interest in the 'Aiolian' aspect of the goddess makes a certain amount of sense in the context of Robert's argument (building on a suggestion by Kurt Latte) that Thea Aiolis Karpophoros was the same deity worshipped at Messon whom Alkaios had addressed as, *σὲ δ' Αἰολήιαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θέον / πάντων γενέθλαν* ('You, glorious Aiolian goddess, (the Lesbians entitled) source from which all springs').[68] While it was therefore convenient that *καρπόφορος* could evoke the local worship of Demeter and was appropriate to Agrippina the Elder's public image, it was included primarily as a translation of *πάντων γενέθλαν*. Indeed, the goddess to whom Alkaios is actually referring in this passage is not Demeter but Hera.[69]

The close equivalence between *καρπόφορος* and *πάντων γενέθλαν* suggests that we should interpret *Αἴολις* with equal attention to *Αἰολήια*. We typically translate both *Θέα Αἴολις* and *Αἰολήια θέος* as 'the Aiolian goddess', but this fudges the interpretive issue of establishing precisely what work the epithet is doing. However, as Edgar Lobel observed in first editing this papyrus fragment, the second iota in the epithet is not syllabic and so it scans as *Αἰολη̄ῑαν* and not *Αἰολη̄̆ιαν* (something which is in fact marked on the papyrus), thus meaning that *Αἰολήια* derives not from the ethnic *Αἰολευ-* but rather from the personal name *Αἰολο-*.[70] At least in Alkaios, therefore, Thea Aiolis is 'the goddess of *Αἰολός*', the eponymous ancestor of the Aiolian ethnos, and so only by metonymy is she 'the goddess of the *Αἰολεῖς*'.[71] Such a basic point of scansion in one of the more well-known poems by Mytilene's most famous poet was surely not lost on the city's educated elites. I would therefore suggest that the passage was mobilized to make the case that Aiolos had founded Lesbos as part of a narrative in which this occurred prior to the colonization of Aiolis, thus making Lesbos the metropolis of the Aiolians. Continued worship of the 'Aiolian goddess', and indeed the new 'Aiolian goddess', Agrippina the Elder, was the living proof of this connection.

68 Alkaios fr. 129.6–7 L-P. See Latte (1947) and Robert, *OMS* 2:809–10.

69 Amigues (2013) 98–102.

70 *P. Oxy.* 18.2165, p. 35. The papyrus dates to the first half of the second century AD.

71 Page (1955) 164.

Robert wished to interpret this link between cult practice in the seventh century BC and the first century AD as evidence for the continuity and robustness of Greek cult tradition over time, a perilous assumption to make given the flourishing antiquarianism of the Greek world in the age of Augustus.[72] However, it is the innovations rather than the continuities which are most striking, and we may wonder to what extent the cult of Thea Aiolis Karpophoros as practised by Mytilenaian aristocrats in the reign of Tiberius would have been at all recognizable to Alkaios and his contemporaries. The most obvious and significant difference is that whereas in Alkaios Thea Aiolis is part of a triad of deities worshipped by all the Lesbians at their common sanctuary at Messon (*Λέσβιοι . . . τέμενος μέγα ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν*), in the Julio-Claudian period the deity was exclusively associated with Mytilene.[73] Thea Aiolis is only attested on coins from Mytilene and on dedications found either in Mytilene itself or at Artemis Thermia, the city's major extramural sanctuary 10 km up the coast from the city, which already in the reign of Augustus had become a centre for worship of the Imperial family.[74] The dedications are made either by the demos of Mytilene or by individuals in their capacity as office-holders at Mytilene or as relatives of office-holders.[75] If any of these individuals also held office in the Lesbian koinon, this goes unmentioned in these dedications, even though in other contexts this fact is stated, for example in the Potamon decree discussed above.[76] Our evidence is not as full for Methymna and Eresos, but we know that Methymna's coins depicting both Agrippinas

[72] Robert, *OMS* 2:810, 825–7. For Greek antiquarianism and its dialectical relationship with Roman power in this era see Spawforth (2012).

[73] Alkaios fr. 129.1–3 L-P. On the identification of Alkaios' sanctuary with Messon see Robert, *OMS* 2:827–31 and now Amigues (2013).

[74] Coins: see n. 66 above. Dedications: *IG* XII (2) 208, 213, 232, 262 (Artemis Thermia), 210, 212, 258, Suppl. 134, 690 (Mytilene). Imperial cult at sanctaury of Artemis Thermia: *IG* XII (2) 203 (after 12 BC, found at the sanctuary); *IG* XII (2) 207 (after 9 BC, found at the village of Thermi, now the villages of Loutropoli Thermi and Pirgi Thermi).

[75] *IG* XII (2) 208, 212, 213, 232 (*δᾶμος*), 210 (priest of the Imperial cult), 262 (priest of Artemis Thermia?), 258 (wife of *ὑπογυμνασίαρχος*), Suppl. 134 (*παιδονόμος*), 690 (*γυμνασίαρχος* or *ὑπογυμνασίαρχος*: Robert, *OMS* 2:814).

[76] Contrast, too, *IG* XII (2) 102 (sanctuary of Artemis Thermia, second/third century AD?): [?]*ΟΜΑΣ καὶ πανίρευς καὶ ἴρευς διὰ γένεος τῶ Σώτηρος Ἀσκλαπίω καὶ ἴρευς διὰ βίω Λεσβίοις*.

assimilate neither to Thea Aiolis.[77] It may likewise be significant that although we have a sizeable dossier of Eresian texts relating to the Imperial cult from this period, none mentions either Agrippina the Elder or Younger, and their focus is instead on other members of the Imperial family.[78] Finally, a recently published statue base from Assos in honour of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder indicates that even when Aiolian cities divinized her, they did not also assimilate her to Thea Aiolis.[79] Likewise, while the Imperial coinage of Kyme refers both to the city's Aiolian ethnicity and divinizes Agrippina the Younger, the two elements are never combined.[80]

While Robert may well have been right that the Lesbian koinon continued to worship Thea Aiolis as part of a triad of deities at Messon (we have no evidence on the subject either way), the far more important point is that in the Julio-Claudian period the Mytilenaians chose to worship Thea Aiolis in such a way that, had it not been for the lucky survival of Alkaios' poem on an Oxyrhynchite papyrus, we would quite reasonably have assumed that Thea Aiolis was an exclusively Mytilenaian cult. This would have been wrong, but instructively so, since it is clear that this is exactly the impression which the Mytilenaians *wanted* to give. By assimilating both Agrippinas to Thea Aiolis in exclusively Mytilenaian contexts, the city was appropriating this common cult of the Lesbians to pursue its own agenda of peer polity competition with the cities of Aiolis.[81]

Three points are worth making here. Firstly, none of this seems to have been of any interest to either Methymna or Eresos—as in earlier periods, these cities had different relationships to the mainland and thus different priorities when constructing their sense of regional identity (compare Chapter 4.2.4 at end). Secondly, the choice to promote Aiolos over Penthilos as Mytilene's founding hero is a significant one. As used by Potamon, the Penthilos foundation tale

[77] *RPC* 1.2340 (r. Caligula): *ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΘΕΑ ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑ*(*ΙΟΙ*); *RPC* 1.2341 (AD 49–54): *ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΣΕ ΚΛΑΥ ΟΚΤ*.

[78] *IG* XII (2) 548 (r. Aug.), *IG* XII Suppl. 128 (7–4 BC), *IG* XII (2) 542 (2 BC–AD 14), Suppl. 124 (AD 1–4), *IG* XII (2) 541 (AD 14–37), 539 (AD 16/17), 540 (*c.*AD 18), *Συμπλ.* 127 (AD 18), *IG* XII (2) 549 (AD 41–54).

[79] Özhan (2011) 171, no. 2 (*bouleuterion* of Assos, AD 18): *vac. ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι vac.* | *[θεὸν Γερ]μανικὸν vac. θεὰν Ἀγριππεῖνα[ν]*. For the supplement in line 2 see P. Hamon, *BE* (2012) no. 355.

[80] See n. 94 below.

[81] Compare Mytilene's appropriation of Dionysos Phallen from Antissa in the late third/early second century BC discussed in Chapter 5.3.5.

very much belonged to him and his family, reflecting his position of dominance in Mytilenaian politics in the second half of the first century BC. By contrast, Aiolos was associated with a cult which had its origins in the common sanctuary of the Lesbians and could not be claimed as the patrimony of any one Mytilenaian aristocrat. As a result, elite individuals from a variety of families could tap into this mythological narrative rather than it being the exclusive 'property' of a single family. Finally, it seems unlikely that this continued interest in the Aiolian aspect of Mytilenaian identity was still to do with a territorial dispute in the *peraia* which had surely been settled in 25 BC, if not before then. It is perhaps better to see the territorial dispute as convincing the generation of Theophanes and Potamon in the middle decades of the first century BC that the cities of Aiolis were the great rivals who were to be bested. This idea then became axiomatic for their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, for whom it was reinforced for two generations when it turned out that the cult of Thea Aiolis was an elegant way both to honour certain members of the Imperial family and to get preferential access to their patronage.

Further light is shed on the role of the *peraia* in the formation of elite Mytilenaian identity by a largely overlooked funerary epigram from the territory of Mytilene.[82]

> *[— — — —]ϵ . . ῳ̣ι | [τϵ]τειμένου Αἰ|ακοῦ αὐτοῦ,*
> *οὐ | κτῆσις γαίης | Ἀσιήτιδος ἠ|δ' ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ*
> *αὐτονόμου | χώρης δωδε|κάτου μέρεος,*
> *οὐ λοιπὸς πλοῦ|τος· χῶρον δ' ἔ|χω εἶσον ἅπα|σι,*
> *μούνης δὲ | ψυχῆς καρ|πὸν ἐμῆς | [ἔλ]αβον*
> *δρησ|[τϵ]ύουσα θϵ|[οῖς]· μίγα γὰρ [πρ]απίσιν νό|ον ἔσχον,*
> *ἐσθλὰ φέρω | δὲ βροτοῖς | ὅσσ' ἔλαβον | Διόθ[ϵν].*

[Woman speaking:] . . . Aiakos having been honoured here[83] . . . not having property in the Asian land or on Lesbos in the autonomous country, the twelfth part (of the region), nor other wealth; rather, I have a grave the same as anyone else,[84] and I gained profit from my soul alone, serving[85] the gods; in addition to my intelligence I also had good sense, and I bring/brought to mortals all the good things I got from Zeus.

[82] *GVI* 1142 (preferable to *IG* XII Suppl. 67). For commentary see Papageorgiou (1913) 223–4 no. 7.

[83] Or 'himself'.

[84] Literally: 'I have a plot of ground equal to others.'

[85] Or 'performing rites' (thus Chantraine [1999] s.v. *δράσσομαι*, p. 297).

The stele (now lost) was found at the village of Mistegna on the eastern coast of Lesbos, and is probably a *pierre errante* from the sanctuary of Artemis Thermia which is 5 km to the south.[86] The reference to Mytilene's autonomy indicates that the text post-dates Pompey making the city a *civitas libera* in 62 BC, while the lettering suggests an early Imperial date for the inscription itself.[87] The epigram's rather clichéd conceit is that the deceased woman's riches lay not in any material wealth she possessed, but rather in her piety and wisdom. However, what is of interest is the distinctively Mytilenaian notion which the epigram's author has of what constitutes elite wealth: to own estates both in the *peraia* and in Mytilene's *chora* on Lesbos.[88] The pair of *οὐ* clauses which introduce this definition of elite wealth in lines 2–3 is contrasted in lines 4–5 with a pair of *δέ* clauses that illustrate the deceased woman's piety and modest means, and this contrast is drawn out further by the use of *καρπός* + genitive in line 5: the 'profit' or 'harvest' which has so enriched her comes not from the agricultural wealth of landed estates but instead from her well-cultivated soul. If the inscription does date to the first century AD and is indeed a *pierre errante* from the vicinity of the sanctuary of Artemis Thermia, then perhaps this is a pointed reference to that sanctuary's many dedications to both Agrippinas as *Θέα Αἴολις Καρπόφορος* which were made by precisely the kind of Mytilenaians who *did* owe their wealth to the possession of large estates on Lesbos and in Asia.

The other revealing phrase is the reference to Mytilene as *ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ αὐτονόμου χώρης δωδεκάτου μέρεος*. The editors of *IG* XII Supplementum already saw that this is best explained in reference to the passage in Herodotus where he lists the twelve original cities of Aiolis.[89] However, the reference is perhaps meant to be even more specific than this, since Herodotus goes on to explain that one of the original twelve, Smyrna, was captured by the Ionians, and so in his day Aiolis only had eleven

[86] Papageorgiou (1913) 224: '*εὑρεθεῖσα ἔτει* 1910 *ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ* ***Μιστεγνά*** (*βορείως, οὐ μακράν, τῆς Θερμῆς*)'.

[87] See the drawing in Papageorgiou (1913) 223, *εἰκών* 6 and for the suggested date *GVI*, p. 325 ('I. Jh. n. Chr.?'). Accame (1946) 112 and Dimopoulou (2015) 498–500 assume a date in the late 40s BC without explicitly arguing for this.

[88] Dimopoulou (2015) 500.

[89] *IG* XII Suppl. 67, p. 24: '*i.e. Aeoliensium dodecapoleos*'. Dimopoulou (2015) 500 n. 174 instead suggests, '*Πρόκειται μήπως για νύξη σχετική με τη διοικητική διαίρεση των περιοχών της Λέσβου;*'. However, the reference to 'the Asian land' in the previous line encourages an interpretation in relation to the mainland.

cities.[90] In keeping with the rather politicized erudition which we saw at work in the assimilation of both Agrippinas to Thea Aiolis Karpophoros, the epigram's conceit may thus be that Mytilene is a new twelfth city of Aiolis, set apart by its location on Lesbos and its hard-won autonomy. In either case, the particular interest of this formulation is that it imagines the cities of Aiolis, not the island of Lesbos, as Mytilene's primary frame of reference for inter-communal rivalry, much as we have already seen with Potamon's claim to be the descendant of 'Penthilos, king of the Aiolians' and with the appropriation and refashioning of the cult of Thea Aiolis Karpophoros.

Strabo's rather confused account of whether Mytilene or Kyme was the true metropolis of the Aiolians suggests that cities in Aiolis were contesting Mytilene's claims in the early first century AD. At the beginning of his description of Lesbos, Strabo states, *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μητρόπολις ἡ Λέσβος ὑπάρχει τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων* ('One might almost consider Lesbos the metropolis of the Aiolian cities').[91] However, later when he comes to discuss Kyme in Aiolis he modifies this statement: *μεγίστη δέ ἐστι τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἀρίστη Κύμη καὶ σχεδὸν μητρόπολις αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Λέσβος τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων περὶ τριάκοντά που τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἐκλελοίπασιν οὐκ ὀλίγαι* ('Greatest and best of the Aiolian cities is Kyme, and one might almost say that this city *along with Lesbos* is the metropolis of the other cities, about thirty in number, of which not a few have disappeared').[92] After this very positive introduction of Kyme, he then goes on to devote the best part of a chapter to the astonishing stupidity of the Kymaians. Cities engaged in intra-regional rivalry frequently produced this kind of abuse about one another, a dynamic demonstrated, for example, in Dio Chrysostom's two orations on Tarsos which deal at length with the Tarsians' chronic flatulence.[93] Strabo's failure to disentangle these diametrically opposed traditions regarding which city deserved to be called the metropolis of the Aiolians therefore helpfully confirms that disputes of just this kind involving Mytilene were ongoing at the time of writing early in the reign of Tiberius, a period roughly contemporary with the Thea Aiolis Karpophoros dedications for Agrippina the Elder. It is worth noting that in the second period of the Thea Aiolis Karpophoros dedications AD *c.*54–9 Kyme produced two issues

[90] Hdt. 1.149–51. [91] Strabo 13.2.1. [92] Strabo 13.3.6.

[93] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33–4. This is the ingenious interpretation proposed by Kokkinia (2007) for the many references to *ῥέγκειν* in *Or.* 33.

of coinage with the divinized Nero as the obverse type, one with the divinized Agrippina the Younger as the reverse type, the other with the Amazon Kyme holding a globe and trident with the legend *ΚΥΜΗ ΑΙΟΛΙΣ*.[94]

Mytilene's interest in the Aiolian aspect of its identity was a discrete historical phenomenon. It first emerged in the course of the first century BC, presumably as a result of the bitter territorial dispute over Mytilene's *peraia* in Aiolis in the middle decades of that century. The evidence of inscriptions and coins discussed above demonstrates that throughout the Julio-Claudian period, and presumably long after the territorial dispute itself was settled, the idea of Mytilene as the metropolis of the Aiolians remained important to the city's elites. However, by the Flavian period we begin to see a renewed interest in Lesbos itself. The earliest evidence for this shift is a pseudo-autonomous issue of coinage from the Flavian period which depicts a husband and wife accompanied by the legends *Σέξτος νέος Μάκαρ* and *Ἀνδρομέδᾳ νέᾳ Λέσβῳ*.[95] We know nothing more about Sextus and Andromeda.[96] However, as was discussed in Chapter 5, we first encounter Makar as the founder of Lesbos in the *Iliad*, and a scholion preserves a tradition in which Lesbos is his wife and Mytilene his mother.[97] The implication of the *neos/nea* titles is therefore that Sextos and Andromeda are latter-day founders of the island by virtue of some benefaction they have made.[98] The choice of Makar and Lesbos as the island's founders suggests a shift away from the traditions concerning Penthilos and Aiolos which were focused on the Aiolian migration and towards a renewed concern with Lesbos itself and the order in which its cities were founded (cf. Chapter 5.3.4). It certainly seems to be the case that from the Flavian period onwards the Lesbian koinon became more active and a greater focus for the career prospects of ambitious Lesbian aristocrats, but whether this

[94] *RPC* 1.2433 (Amazon Kyme), 2434 (Agrippina the Younger). Kyme later emphasized its Aiolian ethnicity in an issue from the reign of Nerva (*RPC* 3.1927, rev. legend *ΑΙΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΚΥΜΑ*[*ΙΩΝ*]) and Hadrian (*RPC* 3.1931, rev. legend *ΑΙΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ*).

[95] *RPC* 2.914 with Robert, *OMS* 2:825–7. For the date see Imhoof-Blumer (1897) 286 and *RPC* 2, p. 142.

[96] The pseudo-autonomous issues of Sextus and Flavia Nikomachis (second half of Antonine period?) appear to be unrelated: *RPC* 4.1792–3 (temporary numbers).

[97] *Σ Il.* 24.544c (ed. Erbse).

[98] Robert, *OMS* 2:310, *RPC* 2, p. 143.

came about as a result of an administrative change under the Flavians or simply shifting priorities within the island is difficult to say.[99]

6.4 BETWEEN REGIONAL AND IMPERIAL SPACE

An important paradox in these expressions of regional identity is that while their cultural frame of reference may be pointedly Greek, the reality of Roman rule is never far away. The Potamoneion may begin by invoking Penthilos, but the rest of the monument is devoted to detailing at enormous length Mytilene's relationship with Rome. While Thea Aiolis Karpophoros is consciously modelled on a cult known from the poetry of Alkaios and associated with the regional sanctuary of Lesbos, its revival is owed to Mytilene's desire to court imperial favour and the goddess herself is assimilated to women of the Imperial household. In the Mistegna epigram, the boast of being autonomous, a status which all readers would have known Pompey had granted to Mytilene, is juxtaposed with a conception of Mytilene's place in Aiolis and the Aiolian *ethnos* derived from Herodotus. The elites of Mytilene were hardly alone in the elaborate contortions they underwent in order to remain Greek in a Roman world.[100] For example, Anna Heller has argued that the Lykian cities of Tlos, Sidyma, and Pinara developed their own mythologized identity in

[99] The Lesbian koinon under the Julio-Claudians is poorly attested. *IG* XII Suppl. 7: the decree is moved by [*τὸ κοῖνον τὸ Λ*]*εσβίων* (line 1) and Potamon has been elected to [*ταὶς ἰρω*]*σύναις τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς Λέσβω* (line 4). The editors restore a reference to Potamon as [*νομο*]*θέταν τῶν* [*Λεσβίων*] in *IG* XII Suppl. 9B.10–11, but note that he is instead [*νομοθέταν γενόμεν*]*ον τᾶς πόλιος* in *IG* XII Suppl. 7.5, so perhaps [*νομο*]*θέταν τῶν* [*Μυτιληναίων*]? The reference to [*Λε*]*σβίων* in *IG* XII (2) 32.13 is too fragmentary to be interpreted. We have more information for the period of the late first to third century AD. Of particular interest for interpreting the meagre Julio-Claudian evidence is a decree from Amastris in Paphlagonia honouring L. Caecilius Proculus as *τὸν Ποντάρχην* | *καὶ Λεσβάρχην* | *καὶ υἱὸν τῆς Λέσ*|*βου, πρωτεύοντα* | *τῶν ἐπαρχείων* (Marek, *Kat. Amastris* no. 19.7–11)—discussions in Robert, *OMS* 2:310–11, Labarre (1996a) 139–40, Vitale (2012) 89–92. It would be interesting to know whether the Lesbarchate (perhaps a priesthood of the imperial cult) is identical with the priesthood of Lesbos which Potamon held or was instead a newly created post. For an overview of the politics of regional koina in the second and third century AD see Puech (2004).

[100] Woolf (1994).

the second century AD so as to erase the realities of Roman domination, while Peter Thonemann has interpreted the Phrygian koinon as, 'an attempt by the Apameans to brand the great annual market associated with the assizes as a sacred and patriotic coming together of all the peoples of Phrygia'.[101] Although Greeks never explicitly chose to premise their regional identity on externally imposed Roman administrative divisions, the way they formulated such identities nevertheless acknowledged the existence and ideological potency of these divisions either by appropriating them, as with Apameia, or erasing them, as with the Lykian cities. While Greek cities certainly wished to give the impression that their sense of regional identity was a wholly endogenous phenomenon, in reality these ideas evolved as part of a tacit interplay with the administrative realities of the Roman Empire.

Under Roman rule a series of cities throughout the province of Asia were selected to host the annual assize-courts which the provincial governor toured in turn to hear cases brought before him by the inhabitants of the province. Over time, the term *conventus*, initially used to refer just to these assize-courts (ἀγορὰ δικῶν) also came to denote the entire district associated with that court (διοίκησις).[102] Exaggerated claims have sometimes been made for the influence which *conventus* districts had on ideas of regional identity, and so it is important to emphasize that the sense of regionality which a *conventus* district engendered was always related to Roman administration.[103] While the original and most important purpose of a *conventus* district was juridical, this structure also provided a convenient means of organizing the empire's other administrative tasks, for example the publication of official decrees, tax collection, road building, and the levying of provincial troops, all of which had the cumulative effect of marking the cities which served as *conventus* centres as nodal points in a distinctively Roman imperial administrative geography.[104] For example, in the Imperial period the *conventus* system

[101] Heller (2009) 56–8, Thonemann (2011) 109–17.

[102] See above all Burton (1975) and Habicht (1975) esp. 69–72 and more recently Merola (2001) 143–81, Heller (2006) 125–62, Guerber (2009) 303–23, and Fournier (2010) 62–87.

[103] See in particular the comments of Thonemann (2011) 115–16 and the examples collected at 116 n. 50.

[104] Mitchell (1999) 22–9, esp. 26–9. On the controversial point of whether tax was collected in each *conventus* before being sent to the provincial capital see Heller

was used to organize worship of the emperor, as Louis Robert demonstrated in the case of an inscription from Didyma in which the *neopoioi* of the province dedicate a statue of Caligula.[105] Robert noticed that though each of the *neopoioi* represented a single *conventus* district, not all the *neopoioi* were from the seat of the assize-courts in their *conventus*, suggesting that these cities were encouraged to view other cities within their *conventus* as competitors for the honour of representing their city in the imperial cult at the provincial level.[106] This close association of the *conventus* districts with the running of the Roman Empire meant that, paradoxically, while cities frequently competed to become a *conventus* seat, they rarely boasted of having actually achieved this status.[107]

In the case of Lesbos, there is dispute over both the *conventus* district to which the island's cities belonged (the Adramyttene or the Pergamene *conventus*) and the date at which the cities were assigned to a *conventus* district (*c.*129 BC when the province was created, or later after the First Mithridatic War when Mytilene, at the very least, lost its free status).[108] The date at which the Lesbian cities were assigned to a *conventus* district is probably an irresolvable question

(2006) 139–49 and the responses of Guerber (2009) 304–5 n. 8 and Thonemann (2011) 114 n. 41.

[105] Robert, *Hellenica* 7:206–38 discussing *I. Didyma* 148.

[106] Guerber (2009) 314–17.

[107] Heller (2006) 125–62, esp. 129–36, Guerber (2009) 308–23, Kantor (2013) 145–9. See esp. Thonemann (2011) 115: 'Cities boasted of being "the first and greatest mother-city of Asia", "the ornament of Ionia", "three times temple-warden of the *Augusti*" and so forth; they did not boast of being "the seat of the proconsul" or "the centre of a *conventus*", despite the material benefits which thereby accrued.' An exception to this is an acclamation from Perge: *αὔξε Πέργη ἡ πρώτη τῶν ἀγορέων* (*SEG* 34.1306 lines 11–12, AD 275/6). However, it is just one acclamation in a long list and this is an isolated example.

[108] Mytilene was free in 207 (Plb. 11.4.1 with Walbank [1957–79] 2:274–6), an ally of Rome against Antiochos III in 191–189 (Liv. 36.45.8, 37.12.5, 37.21.4–6) and so free under the Peace of Apameia in 188 (Cichorius [1888] 4 and Liv. 37.56.2), ally of Rome against Aristonikos in 133–129 (*RDGE* 25.15, also the implication of references to it *re*-gaining its freedom in 62). For its actions in the Mithridatic Wars see n. 18. Methymna was an ally of Rome in the Third Macedonian War (171–168) and awarded the territory of 'traitorous' Antissa in 167 (Mason [1995] on Liv. 45.31.13–14, Plin. *HN* 5.139), raided by Prusias II in 155 and awarded restitution by the senate in 154 (Plb. 33.13.8 with Hansen [1971] 133–5), and a *civitas foederata* fighting against Aristonikos in *c.*129 (*IG* XII (2) 510 and Suppl. 116 with Schuler [2007] 67–8). For the question of whether to attribute the Adobogiona stele to Methymna or Mytilene (and what this might mean) see n. 18. We know too little about Eresian history in the late Hellenistic period to determine its status.

on current evidence.[109] By contrast, it is possible to establish the *conventus* district (or districts) to which the Lesbian cities belonged, and by doing so we can establish the administrative arrangements against which we should 'read' Mytilene's claim of being metropolis of the Aiolians.

A. H. M. Jones attributed all the cities of Lesbos to the Adramyttene *conventus* on the basis of a passage in Pliny which places Eresos in that *conventus*.[110] Robert, who instead wished to attribute all the Lesbian cities to the Pergamene *conventus*, objected that, though the *conventus* list from which Pliny was working (originally drawn up by Agrippa) grouped island and mainland cities together, in arranging his material Pliny instead split off the island cities into a separate section and did not mention to which *conventus* they belonged.[111] In addition, all the cities with which Eresos is mentioned are in central Mysia.[112] He therefore argued that these 'Eresians' in Pliny were in fact a homonymous (and otherwise totally unattested) Mysian *ethnos*.[113] This is not altogether convincing, and it is more plausible that Pliny inadvertently included a minor island city from the *conventus* list he was copying without realizing that it violated his

[109] For the *conventus* system being introduced by M'. Aquillius (*cos.* 129) see Robert, *OMS* 1:612, Habicht (1975) 68, Merola (2001) 172–81. The arguments of Morstein-Marx (1995) 116–17, 135–6 in favour of an introduction after the First Mithridatic War are unpersuasive. Certain cities clearly did operate outside the province prior to the Mithridatic Wars, Kolophon being the key example: *SEG* 39.1243–4 with Robert and Robert (1989), Ferrary (1991), and Morstein-Marx (1995) 114–15. However, it is unclear whether we should take this case as indicative of the majority of Greek cities not joining the province *c.*129–126 (thus Morstein-Marx [1995] 265–6), or whether this was a special status, and, if it was a special status, on what grounds it was conferred.

[110] Jones (1971) 85 and 399–400 n. 97 with Plin. *HN* 5.123: *deportant Adramytteum negotia Apolloniatae a Rhyndaco amne, Eresi, Miletopolitae, Poemaneni, Macedones Asculacae, Polichnaei, Pionitae, Cilices Mandacandeni, Mysi Abretteni et Hellespontii appellati et alii ignobiles*.

[111] Robert, *Hellenica* 7:237 n. 2 plausibly suggested that the islands section is instead based on a nautical document interested in harbours rather than cities. The islands are again missing from *The Customs Law of Asia* §39 (AD 62): Mitchell (2008) 192–3. In the Ephesian *conventus* list (*SEG* 37.884 = *I. Ephesos* 13, AD *c.*70–89) islands are always listed at the end of the *formula*.

[112] Note also that the list of names is clearly corrupt in several places (e.g. the *Abretteni* are probably the Abbaitenoi).

[113] Robert, *Hellenica* 7:236–7 n. 6: 'N'est il pas clair que les *Eresi* ou *Erezii* de Pline ne peuvent être la ville de Lesbos, mais sont un peuple de Mysie, comme on l'a, je crois, toujours admis, en cherchant, à l'occasion, à l'identifier?'. Accepted by Habicht (1975) 80 n. 125.

organizational scheme. The confused account he later gives of Lesbos indicates that he had no personal familiarity with the island.[114] In addition, the internal contradictions in his short description of Lesbos suggest that he did not undertake even a cursory cross-checking of his material.[115] Pliny therefore probably provides evidence for Eresos belonging to the Adramyttene *conventus* after all.

However, the publication of the Ephesian *conventus* list (AD *c.*70–89) has shown that Jones was wrong to attribute *all* the cities of Lesbos to this *conventus*, since at the end of the Pergamene *conventus* we find listed the *Χεῖοι*, *Μιτυληναῖοι*, and the *Καλληνεῖς* (on whom more below).[116] Since island communities are always listed at the end of their *conventus* in this document, we can be sure that Eresos and Methymna were not separately mentioned in the lost initial section of the Pergamene list. As Christian Habicht concludes, 'Strange as it may seem, [it is] still possible that both [Methymna and Eresos] were attributed to a *conventus* other than that of Mytilene, in that case probably to Adramytteum.'[117] This is surely correct, and so has the important consequence that the Roman administrative divisions to which Mytilenaian ideas of regional identity would have been responding were not shared by Methymna or Eresos.

Attempts have been made, however, to resist this conclusion by arguing that the Kalleneis in fact represent a new community made up of Methymna and Eresos who would thus no longer be 'missing' from the *conventus* list. Habicht marked the *Καλληνεῖς* as 'unknown', but Jeanne and Louis Robert persuasively argued that this community's name is preserved in that of the modern village of *Καλλονή* located at the head of the Gulf of Kalloni in the centre of the island.[118] While this indicates where the Kalleneis were probably located, it

[114] Robert, *Hellenica* 7:237 n. 2.

[115] Pyrrha has been swallowed by the sea, but is also one of the three remaining cities. The confusion is resolved by Strabo 13.2.4: *ἡ δὲ Πύρρα κατέστραπται, τὸ δὲ προάστειον οἰκεῖται καὶ ἔχει λιμένα* ('Pyrrha has been razed to the ground, but its suburb is inhabited and has a harbour'). Although Pliny has mentioned Methymna's acquisition of Antissa in the previous sentence, he forgets to include it among the remaining cities. It should certainly have replaced Pyrrha.

[116] *SEG* 37.884 col. II.8–11.

[117] Habicht (1975) 80.

[118] Identity of the Kalleneis: Habicht (1975) 80, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 595, p. 536. Persistence of toponyms on Lesbos: Kretschmer (1905) 33–4, 36, Robert, *OMS* 2:728–30, 828–9 n. 5, J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1951) no. 159, (1952) no. 126, (1976) no. 595, p. 536, H. J. Mason, *Phoenix* 52 (1998) 176. Kalloni: the earliest attestation of the modern village is in AD 1335 (*TIB* 10 s.v. Kallonē).

does not explain *who* they were. The Roberts speculated that the Kalleneis were either (1) an otherwise unattested community or (2) the name of a new community representing a synoikism or *sympoliteia* between Methymna and Eresos (or perhaps just one of these cities and the unattested Kalleneis).[119] I believe we can rule out this second possibility. If Methymna and/or Eresos had been party to a synoikism or *sympoliteia*, their ethnics would no longer appear in our evidence and would be replaced by *Καλληνεύς* or, in the case of a *sympoliteia*, perhaps *Καλληνεὺς ἐν Ἐρέσῳ vel sim*. Instead, we find no references to *Καλληνεῖς*, while both Eresos and Methymna are almost continually attested as independent poleis throughout the first century AD. Methymna produced coinage bearing its ethnic under Augustus, Caligula, Nero, and Trajan.[120] The coin from Nero's reign also depicts Agrippina the Younger and Claudia Octavia, thus dating it to AD 53–9. This limits the period in which Methymna could have become and then ceased to be the Kalleneis to *c.*53–9 to *c.*70–89. At Eresos, we have inscriptions recording decisions of the demos which honour members of the imperial family from the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Vespasian, and Trajan.[121] In addition, we have coinage bearing the city's ethnic for the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, Nero (or possibly Hadrian), Trajan, and Hadrian.[122] It seems rather unlikely that a *sympoliteia* should have come into effect for no reason we can surmise, existed for only a few years in the reign of Domitian, and then just as quickly and inexplicably disappeared without leaving any trace in our evidence.

An alternative explanation is that the Kalleneis were a 'sacred village' associated with the sanctuary at Messon. In addition to *πόλεις*, the *conventus* lists also included non-polis entities such as *δῆμοι* and

[119] J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 595, p. 536. Labarre (1994) 440–6 (repeated *verbatim* in Labarre [1996a] 136–41) has recently argued for *sympoliteia*.

[120] *RPC* 1.2337–41, 3.1681. First-century AD inscriptions from Methymna (*IG* XII (2) 514–15, 517–18) cannot be precisely enough dated to prove anything.

[121] Augustus: *IG* XII (2) 537 (23/2 BC: *I. Bilingual* 136), 531 (12 BC: Oliver [1989] Doc. 4), 542 (2 BC–AD 14: *SEG* 52.771), 548 (r. Augustus: Robert, *OMS* 5:573–5 n. 5), *IG* XII Suppl. 128 (*c.*7–4 BC: *SEG* 52.770), 124 (AD *c.*1–4). Tiberius: *IG* XII (2) 539 (AD 16/17: *SEG* 52.773), 540 (AD *c.*18), 541 (AD 14–37), *Συμπλ.* 127 (AD 18). Claudius: *IG* XII (2) 549 (AD 41–54). Nero: *IG* XII (2) 545 (AD 54–68: *SEG* 52.777). Vespasian: *IG* XII (2) 543 (AD 69–79). Trajan: *IG* XII (2) 544 (AD *c.*98–102: *SEG* 52.779). First century AD: *IG* XII (2) 536 (*SEG* 52.782, but see Chaniotis *ad loc.*), 546 (Hodot [1990] 300), 573 (*SEG* 52.781, but see Chaniotis *ad loc.*), *IG* XII Suppl. 47 (*SEG* 52.780).

[122] *RPC* 1.2334–6, 3.1678–80.

ἔθνη, and many of the communities which are otherwise unknown to us were probably just villages (e.g. *Καιναὶ Κῶμαι* explicitly so).[123] A parallel for a sacred village being included in the Ephesian list can be found in the same *conventus*, since Habicht identified the *Πανθεῶται* as being just such a community associated with Pergamon's extramural sanctuary of *Πάντες Θεοί*.[124] The Roberts's association of the Kalleneis with the modern village of Kalloni suggests that this community was located somewhere around the Gulf of Kalloni and therefore near to the Messon sanctuary. Regarding the etymology of the Kalleneis, Robert made the attractive suggestion that the name derived from the Kallisteia, the beauty contest for Lesbian maidens which was held at Messon and which is attested by Lesbian authors from Mytilene, Methymna, and Eresos writing in the Archaic, Classical, and early Hellenistic periods (see Chapter 5.3.3).[125] Finally, communities were included or excluded from the Ephesian list not because of their size or importance, but in relation to the purpose of listing them here, which was most likely to do with levying tax.[126] In this connection, it is worth noting Strabo's comment that although Pyrrha was no longer a polis, its *προάστειον* was still inhabited and had a harbour during the reign of Augustus.[127] Pyrrha was only 3 km south of Messon and, as Suzanne Amigues has recently demonstrated, it was closely associated with the sanctuary and the Kallisteia throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.[128] The unnamed inhabitants of the *προάστειον* in Strabo may therefore have been the Kalleneis of the Ephesian *conventus* list who were included because taxes were collected at this harbour. During the medieval period the village then moved to the more defensible site of modern Kalloni. If correct, this reconstruction provides further proof that Eresos and Methymna belonged to the Adramyttene *conventus*.[129] In addition,

[123] J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1976) no. 595, p. 533. *Καιναὶ Κῶμαι*: *SEG* 37.884 col. II.22.

[124] *SEG* 37.884 col. II.6 with Habicht (1975) 79 and Fernoux (2009) 141 n. 18.

[125] Robert, *OMS* 2:830 n. 3, Amigues (2013) 95–108.

[126] See Knibbe (1987) and for a recent appraisal of the debate Guerber (2009) 306–7.

[127] Strabo 13.2.4 (text cited in n. 115). [128] Amigues (2013).

[129] Robert, *OMS* 7:573–5 (cf. *OMS* 2:801 n. 2, 4:116) suggested restoring *IG* XII Suppl. 124.24–6 (Eresos, AD 1–4) as *κατεσκεύασεν δὲ ναῦον τῶ Σεβά[στω θ]έω Καίσαρι καὶ ἐπὶ [Περγάμω μετὰ] τᾶς γύναικος αὔτω Ἀμμίω τᾶς Ἀπ[ολλ]οφάνη, οὐ μόνον τ[ὰν πόλι]ν ἀλ[λὰ καὶ τὰν λο]ίπαν ἐπαρχήαν μάρτυρα ποήμενος τᾶς εἰς τὸν θέον εὐσε[βεία]ς* ('He also built a temple to the god Caesar Augustus in [Pergamon together with] his wife Ammion, daughter of Apollophanes, making not only the city but also the rest of the province witnesses to his piety toward the god'). If correct, the implication would

if the sanctuary of Messon and its sacred village were now located on Mytilene's territory, then this perhaps explains the liberties which Mytilene took with Messon's cult of Thea Aiolis in the Julio-Claudian period.

It is unknown why the cities of Lesbos were split between two different *conventus* districts. Often these apparent illogicalities in the *conventus* system arose from considerations of Roman administrative convenience, although we might also wonder whether, in the immediate wake of the Mithridatic Wars, the intention was to discourage the Lesbians from acting in concert, especially through an organization such as the Lesbian koinon.[130] Whatever the reasons, the broad overlap of the Pergamene *conventus* with northern Aiolis no doubt played a role in encouraging the idea that Mytilene might cast itself as 'the autonomous twelfth part of Asia' and 'the metropolis of the Aiolians'. Significantly, this latter claim was primarily contested not by other members of the Pergamene *conventus*, but rather by Kyme, a member of the Smyrnaean *conventus* whose district encompassed southern Aiolis. Beneath their fierce rivalry, both cities evidently found it congenial to imagine themselves as belonging to the authentically Greek region of Aiolis which cut across the arbitrary administrative divisions imposed by Rome.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

The history of Mytilene's relationship with its *peraia* along the northern coast of Aiolis in the first century BC and AD once again demonstrates the wide-ranging impact which the mainland could have on the history of Lesbos. However, as I have already argued in the conclusion to Chapter 4, it is important to appreciate how complex

be that the Eresian benefactor was dedicating a temple in the seat of his city's *conventus*. However, Werner Eck *ap.* Kajava (2002) 92 n. 17 has doubted the plausibility of such a dedication at Pergamon on a number of good grounds, and the whole argument is in any case based on Robert confusing Eresos for Mytilene over the course of several pages (*OMS* 5:573, 575). The photo (*Συμπλ. πίναξ* 38) indicates that there is instead space on the stone for ἐπὶ [Ἀδραμυτ(τ)ίω].

[130] An explanation in terms of political disaggregation is hinted at in Ma (2009) 134 n. 46, although on the assumption that the Kalleneis were a polis and that they represented a territory detached from Mytilene (on my view, they are instead a village located on Mytilenaian land). For cases of administrative convenience see Kantor (2013) 155–6.

and varied this impact could be. Most obviously, although the *peraia* was of great importance to Mytilene in this period, it was of little relevance to Eresos or Methymna. This is not to say that these cities were inward-looking and did not have their own significant relationships with the mainland, but rather that they will have taken very different forms which, regrettably, the quality of our evidence does not permit us to trace in this period. Again, all three cities shared the experience of being made part of an administrative unit which was centred on the mainland (the province of Asia) rather than on the world of the Aegean islands, as we see happen under Diocletian with the *provincia insularum* and much later under the Ottomans with the *Eyalet-i Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid* (Eyalet of the Islands of the White Sea). However, this experience in turn was varied, with Eresos and Methymna belonging to the Adramyttene *conventus* and Mytilene to the Pergamene *conventus*. Although I have not ventured beyond the Julio-Claudian period in this chapter, it is also worth briefly noting that this particular configuration of island-mainland relations does not appear to have lasted past the end of the first century AD and would continue to change in subsequent centuries.

Conclusions

In the introduction to this book I discussed four central problems in regional history, set out my particular approach to each, and indicated where these issues would arise in the subsequent chapters. I argued, firstly, that the value of historical geography is that it helps us to 'unthink' what we think we know about which spaces 'naturally' belong together and what the 'natural' uses of those spaces are by exposing the historically contingent factors which have produced a particular spatial configuration. Secondly, I argued that it is not the territorial extent of regions but rather the historical processes which help coalesce regions which we should be trying to define precisely. If we accept that regions are historically contingent phenomena, then it follows that they will constantly be changing as the historical processes which have produced them also change. In writing regional history we should therefore be deliberately vague about the territorial extent of the region being studied, and instead strive to be precise about the mechanisms which sustained a particular regional configuration. This in turn raises the question of how to identify regional phenomena and, once they have been identified, how to decide which are most important in the creation of a region.

When Theophrastos sat down to write his *Enquiry into Plants* he was faced with the daunting task of creating from scratch a classificatory system which would be flexible, universal, and facilitate comparison. In the introduction to his work he formulates the problem as follows:

> In considering the differences among plants and the nature of plants in general, one must consider their parts, their qualities, their modes of reproduction, and their ways of life, for unlike animals they lack

> behaviours or actions which we can observe.[1] The differences in their mode of reproduction, their qualities, and their ways of life are easier to observe and therefore more straightforward to understand, while the differences in their parts present much greater diversity. Indeed, it has not even been satisfactorily established which should be called parts and which should not, and this is a source of some perplexity.[2]

The challenge of defining a region is not altogether different from that which faced Theophrastos.[3] Plants present us with a myriad of attributes which we could potentially seize upon for the purpose of classification, but, as Theophrastos well knew, only some of these attributes are sufficiently meaningful that an entire classificatory system can be built upon them. In the same way, if one takes ‘regional’ in its very broadest sense as any phenomenon which has a spatial dimension, then there is an almost limitless number of regional phenomena which one could potentially identify. In practice, however, some regional phenomena will be more fundamental than others in defining a region and some more meaningful than others in how they shape the experience of living, working, and belonging to a region.[4]

In Chapters 1 and 2 I introduced the idea that the factors which work to cohere a region can be usefully, albeit somewhat schematically, divided into the human and the geographical, and that when these factors intersect they amplify one another’s capacity to integrate a region. Perhaps one of the most important human factors for this particular region is its good fortune to have been described in some detail in the course of the *Iliad*. This provided the inhabitants of the region with a shared Homeric heritage that was unique to this particular corner of the ancient world, while at the same time endowing the region with the kind of mythological ‘resources’ which could be exploited for cultural capital. Alongside mythology, institutions

[1] Compare Arist. *HA* 487a11–12: *αἱ δὲ διαφοραὶ τῶν ζῴων εἰσὶ κατά τε τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ μόρια.*

[2] *HP* 1.1.1 (adapted from the Loeb): *τῶν φυτῶν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν ληπτέον κατά τε τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τοὺς βίους· ἤθη γὰρ καὶ πράξεις οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ τὰ ζῷα. εἰσὶ δ’ αἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς βίους εὐθεωρητότεραι καὶ ῥᾴους, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ μέρη πλείους ἔχουσαι ποικιλίας. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἀφώρισται τὰ ποῖα δεῖ μέρη καὶ μὴ μέρη καλεῖν ἀλλ’ ἔχει τινὰ ἀπορίαν.*

[3] Compare Grigg (1965) on the fundamental similarities between identifying regional systems and establishing a biological taxonomy.

[4] For good recent discussions of these issues see, for example, Reger (2007), Reger (2011), and Reger (2013), the essays in Elton and Reger (2008), Vlassopoulos (2011).

such as the koinon of Athena Ilias count as another human factor which played an important role in fostering regional integration and forging a sense of regional identity. In terms of geographical factors, I suggested that the environmental heterogeneity of the Troad in particular created fruitful juxtapositions of economic resources which encouraged different areas to connect with one another. In turn, access to waterways (whether the Scamander or the sea) served to facilitate the making of these connections and, in particular, to bring Lesbos into this world.

The northern Troad's relationship with the Propontis and Bosporos provides an example of human and geographical factors intersecting with, and thus amplifying, one another. While we would expect communities in and around the Dardanelles to have a strong relationship with these areas to the east in any historical period because of the region's geography, an institution such as the koinon of Athena Ilias was able to further strengthen this relationship, firstly, by bringing these cities in the Dardanelles and their partners in the Propontis (Myrleia, Kalchedon) within a single organization and, secondly, by creating a major annual market at the mouth of the Dardanelles at precisely the time of year (August) when ships would be returning from the Black Sea to the Aegean. Lesbos provides a different but equally instructive case. The geography of Lesbos both encourages connections with Anatolia, since the mainland is close and accessible by sea, and discourages connections within the island, since much of the interior is rugged and laborious to cross. Yet despite the fact that the cities of Lesbos (Mytilene above all) were, as the geographical facts would lead us to expect, quite clearly an integral part of the world of the Anatolian mainland, the insular geography of the island also appears to have encouraged the Lesbians to conceive of themselves as somehow separate from the mainland. As a result, we see the Lesbians form their own koinon rather than joining those of the mainland and articulate a Lesbian identity which was (usually) distinct from the Aiolian identities encountered in the neighbouring Troad and Aiolis.

There is a tension running throughout these examples between the 'real' space *in* the region (e.g. its physical geography, its weather, its flora and fauna) and the 'relative' space *of* the region, a space abstracted from real space and characterized instead by movement, connectivity, and power relations which are difficult to make concrete in the reader's imagination without recourse to metaphors from mathematics and physics (e.g. 'nodes', 'hubs', 'differentials', 'asymmetries', 'connections', 'flows', 'interfaces').[5] This difference between real and relative space maps onto two quite different scholarly approaches to regional history, both of which have been important in the formation of my own approach—on the one hand, the historical geography of Louis Robert (micro-focused, deeply indebted to Vidal de la Blache, rooted in the precise realities of the particular place, always concerned to establish the nuances of the specific example) and, on the other, the Mediterranean history of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell (macro-focused, deeply indebted to social anthropology, always concerned to abstract and theorize the particular place, to establish the generalizable qualities of the specific example).

These two scholarly approaches and the types of space—real and relative—which they help us understand are necessary complements to one another. Thinking about how a space is networked helps us to see connections we might otherwise miss. For example, in the case of Lesbos we have seen the extent to which the island was integrated into the world of the mainland, but equally how the nature of this integration could differ substantially from one city to the next in defiance of the geographical facts (i.e. equal proximity). For example, although Mytilene and Methymna had equally good access to the mainland, their relationships with coastal Asia Minor were radically different. Likewise, attention to the overland routes through the Troad, the uses to which it used to be possible to put the Scamander, and the complex seascape of the Dardanelles all illustrate how important routes of connection criss-crossed this region and thus brought it together. At the same time, however, we can hardly build up this picture of the Troad as a space of connection without first appreciating how the geographical realities of the region shaped the flows of movement through this space and how the distribution of natural resources encouraged particular connections to arise in the first place. Beyond this, though, it is important to pay equal attention to real and relative space because it is the interaction between them which produces the subjective experience of a landscape and of a region for its inhabitants. The instinctive sense of place that washes over us when we are reminded of a region we know well is not just about the sensory

[5] For the terms 'real' and 'relative' space see Harvey (1973) 12–14, 27–36 and Harvey (2006) 119–48. For the rationale behind adopting the language of mathematics and physics to describe connectivity in *The Corrupting Sea* see Horden (2012) 27–9.

experiences we associate with particular places (pine resin in one's nostrils, cold swims in the Aegean, the slap of the Etesian winds against one's cheeks), but also about the people you encounter there—who they are, how often you cross paths, what brought them there, and what brought you there.

The third and fourth issues in regional history which I discussed in the introduction were concerned with its broader significance to ancient historians: beyond providing a detailed account of the region in question, what is the contribution of regional history to ancient history more generally? In answering this question, I emphasized two issues which have featured prominently in my case studies. Firstly, regional historians have often assumed that their task is to identify shared regional identities which facilitated political and economic cooperation amongst participants of the region. While instances of co-operation are of course important to understand, this needs to be balanced by an appreciation of how regional dynamics can be driven as much by intra-regional rivalries as by political solidarity and economic co-operation. As I have argued in my discussions of the koinon of Athena Ilias and the Lesbian koinon, if we start from the premise that regional solidarity is natural and easy then we will misunderstand how these organizations work, how complex their politics can be, and how contingent the instances of co-operation which we see in our evidence really are.

More broadly, a case can be made for making difference rather than similarity the leitmotif of regional history. When we want to identify regions in the ancient world it is typically similarity rather than difference which we seek out. The Linnaean principle of family resemblance has an almost axiomatic quality for us, but perhaps it is useful to recall that Theophrastos found it no less self-evident that plants should be defined by their *differences* (*διαφοραί*) from one another instead of their similarities.[6] In discussing the human and geographical factors which contributed to creating the region I have been studying, I have repeatedly emphasized that inter-state rivalry and competition over economic and mythological resources played just as important a role in encouraging these communities to conceive of one another as peers (and thus of this group of peers as constituting a region) as did cooperation and solidarity. In addition, therefore, to

[6] See Amigues (2002) 351–62 for some examples of divergences between the two systems.

the similarities which regional historians usually seek to identify, we also need to think about the productive differences which create regions. For example, one consequence of the many fierce intra-regional rivalries which we have encountered in this book (above all between Kebren and Skepsis, Skepsis and Ilion, Ilion and Alexandreia Troas, Methymna and Mytilene, and Mytilene and Kyme) was that these cities sought out opportunities to best one another more often than they did cities who were not their local rivals. These rivalries thus encouraged participation in forums such as regional festivals where these rivalries could be indulged, and when these rivalries graduated to open hostility they often precipitated the formation of interstate institutions to mediate these conflicts which could have the unintended consequence of further integrating the region. Perhaps the most striking example of this was encountered in Chapter 5 where we saw how recurrent tensions between the cities of Lesbos led, in a particular historical context, to the creation of multilateral and bilateral treaties (the *syntheka* and *episynthekai*) governing the use of Messon as a venue for tribunals of foreign judges.[7] Difference is a similarly important theme when we turn from human to geographical factors. For example, as I argued in Chapter 2 in particular, environmental difference between adjacent regions often creates economic opportunities because each area has access to resources or markets which the other lacks. Likewise, I also argued there that environments different to one's own can play an important role in a community's social imaginary, as for example did the forested uplands of Mt Ida in the civic imaginary of the Troad's lowland poleis.

The fourth and final issue I discussed in the introduction was the contribution which regional histories can make to our understanding of ancient imperialism. The hard limits which existed on the speed of movement and communication in the ancient world meant that, to varying degrees, imperial states tended to engage reactively rather than proactively with their subjects, they had to work through local elites and thus to some extent accommodate their wishes, and they had to delegate considerable authority to their own representatives working at the regional level. As a result, while ancient empires of course often imposed their wishes on regions in defiance of what local communities wanted, it is also the case that subject communities were

[7] Compare Ager (2008) on interstate arbitration in Ionia.

frequently able to co-opt the imperial power into helping them pursue purely local concerns which were of limited importance beyond the regional level. It is this dynamic which, as I argued in the introduction, gave ancient imperialism a distinctively regional character. That said, it is worth turning this statement round and considering how ancient regionalism could have a distinctively imperial character. As we have seen, empires could deliberately manipulate regional dynamics: the clearest example I have discussed is the Athenian Empire's strategy of political disaggregation which it pursued in order to disrupt the power bases of regional hegemons such as Mytilene, but it can also be seen in the synoikism of Antigoneia (later Alexandreia) Troas and, indeed, in the entire apparatus of Roman provincial administration. These interventions fundamentally reconfigured the political landscape of Lesbos and the Troad and thus diverted the region onto a trajectory which it would not otherwise have followed. Imperial institutions could also shape regional phenomena in more subtle ways. This is particularly apparent with Roman provincial administration, which inserted itself into local contexts much more insistently than previous empires had done, and also with the imperial cult, which encouraged communities to reformulate their identities in ways which complemented the ideological priorities of the ruling power. Thus, as I discussed in Chapter 6, in the Imperial period, and particularly from the Flavians onwards, it becomes increasingly difficult to disentangle the regional from the imperial in expressions of regional identity.

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